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**PEKERJA
INDUSTRI
KREATIF
INDONESIA:**

Flexploitation,
Kerentanan
dan Sulitnya
Berserikat



**PEKERJA
INDUSTRI KREATIF
INDONESIA:
FLEXPLOITATION,
KERENTANAN
DAN SULITNYA
BERSERIKAT**

Tim peneliti dan penulis:

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Gerakan kelas pekerja Indonesia harus mendapatkan kendalinya kembali dalam menentukan arah pembangunan negara.

Tanpa kendali itu, kelas pekerja Indonesia akan terus-menerus dihabisi kelompok oligarki yang mengusung agenda neoliberalisme. Lihat saja beragam kebijakan pembangunan Indonesia yang semakin tidak berpihak terhadap kelas pekerja.

Setidaknya itu yang SINDIKASI alami sepanjang tiga tahun terakhir terlibat dalam advokasi kebijakan. Mulai dari Undang-Undang Nomor 24 Tahun 2019 tentang Ekonomi Kreatif sampai penolakan terhadap skandal omnibus law Cipta Kerja yang pernah juga disebut RUU Cilaka.

Dominasi kelompok pemodal dan ekonom neoliberal dalam mendikte arah pembangunan negara harus diakhiri. SINDIKASI yakin kelas pekerja bersama gerakan rakyat lainnya mampu menyusun narasi tanding dan memenangkan agenda pembangunan negara yang berpihak pada kepentingan rakyat banyak. Dalam konteks itu, riset menjadi amunisi penting bagi gerakan kelas pekerja dalam mencapai tujuannya. Serikat

pekerja akan semakin kuat apabila riset menjadi tradisi dalam mengelola organisasinya.

Dokumen riset ini merupakan rangkaian kontribusi SINDIKASI dalam melahirkan narasi tanding dalam industri media dan kreatif, khususnya aspek perburuhan. Riset ini disusun SINDIKASI untuk mengisi kekosongan suara para pekerja dalam kebijakan pengembangan ekonomi kreatif yang pernah disebut Presiden Joko Widodo sebagai “tulang punggung perekonomian Indonesia”. Tentu saja riset ini bukan titik akhir dalam upaya membangun ekosistem industri media dan kreatif yang adil, inklusif, dan manusiawi.

SINDIKASI akan terus melahirkan beragam terobosan dalam pengorganisiran dan melahirkan narasi untuk membalikkan keadaan hari ini.

Ikhsan Raharjo
Plt Ketua Pengurus Harian
SINDIKASI

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P E N D A H U L U A N

1 . 1

L A T A R
B E L A K A N G

“Bener-bener kayak kerja rodi, menghabiskan sebegitu banyak waktu yang enggak dihargai.”

(3.S)

Kutipan di atas menggambarkan satu dari sekian banyak kenyataan sosial para pekerja industri kreatif. Mereka hidup dalam situasi rentan dengan penghasilan yang kurang memenuhi standar kehidupan layak, terindividualisasi dan jauh dari jangkauan perlindungan negara.

Kerentanan tersebut semakin terasa nyata dalam pandemi Covid-19. Survei yang dilakukan oleh Serikat Pekerja Media dan Industri Kreatif untuk Demokrasi (SINDIKASI) terhadap 139 responden pada April 2020 menemukan bahwa 61,35% responden mengalami pembatalan pekerjaan atau proyek. Sebanyak 32,8% responden berpotensi kehilangan pemasukan sebesar lima sampai lima belas juta rupiah sejak Maret hingga Juli 2020. Sementara itu, hanya sekitar 0,4% yang mengakses bantuan dari pemerintah.

Minimnya bantuan dari pemerintah disebabkan oleh beberapa faktor. *Pertama*, para pekerja di industri ini kebanyakan tergolong sebagai pekerja informal, berstatus kerja lepas (*freelance*), dan acap kali dianggap sebagai pekerja mandiri (*self-employed workers*). Kedua, mereka dikonstruksikan secara sosial berbeda dengan *working poor*, seperti pekerja pabrik, dan sering kali dianggap sebagai pekerja kerah putih karena profesi yang lekat dengan kriteria tertentu, misalnya *tech savvy* dan sebagainya. Ketiga,

pengelabuan hubungan kerja akibat kuatnya ilusi mengenai kewirausahaan. Padahal, tentu tidak semuanya merupakan wirausahawan.

Kondisi ini memunculkan berbagai inisiatif berbentuk *crowdfunding* dari dan oleh sesama pekerja di antaranya melalui Bagirata (bagirata.id) dan KaryaKarsa (karyakarsa.com). Terlepas dari berbagai keterbatasannya, melalui inisiatif-inisiatif ini, banyak pekerja memperoleh bantuan jaring pengaman minimal untuk bertahan hidup di masa pandemi. Pada saat yang sama, negara dapat dikatakan cenderung absen. Memang ada upaya dari pemerintah, misalnya Bantuan Apresiasi Pelaku Budaya untuk pekerja budaya yang disalurkan oleh Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (KEMENDIKBUD, 2020). Namun, bantuan tersebut masih cenderung birokratis dan belum bisa dinikmati oleh banyak pekerja budaya.

Di sisi lain, upaya pemerintah dalam mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi kreatif telah dimulai sejak tahun 2010-an. Potensi kontribusi industri kreatif terhadap Produk Domestik Bruto (PDB) serta kemampuan industri ini menyerap tenaga kerja menjadi alasan utamanya (Kemenperin, 2015). Namun, bidang-bidang pekerjaan yang termasuk ke dalam industri kreatif bergantung pada regulasi negara karena memang belum ada standar atau definisi yang disepakati secara internasional. Kini, industri kreatif pun didasarkan pada enam belas subsektor yang dikeluarkan oleh Badan Ekonomi Kreatif pada tahun 2016 (Badan Ekonomi Kreatif dan Badan Pusat Statistik 2016).

Absennya definisi industri kreatif yang disepakati secara internasional telah membuat banyak bidang pekerjaan—yang secara teori dan praktik sebetulnya bersinggungan erat dengan industri kreatif—acap kali tidak masuk ke dalam kategori tersebut. Beberapa di antaranya: *pertama*, bidang-bidang pekerjaan yang berhubungan dengan aspek material dari kerja-kerja yang terkategori sebagai

kerja “kreatif”; *kedua*, bidang-bidang pekerjaan yang berhubungan erat dengan perkembangan teknologi dan riset; *ketiga*, bidang-bidang pekerjaan yang bersinggungan langsung dengan perkembangan kerja-kerja di bidang “kreatif”. Konsekuensinya, para pekerja dalam ketiga bidang pekerjaan itu pun cenderung diabaikan dalam politik ketenagakerjaan di Indonesia.

Dengan pertimbangan tersebut, dalam riset ini, industri kreatif yang kami maksud tidak terbatas sektor-sektor yang didefinisikan secara resmi oleh negara, tetapi juga mencakup kerja-kerja lain yang bersinggungan secara langsung.

Kemudian, seturut dengan upaya pengembangan industri kreatif, wacana mengenai *entrepreneurship*—yang kemudian berubah menjadi *buzzword*—pun kian menggema (Izzati, 2020a). Pemerintah, misalnya, membuat program “Gerakan Nasional 1000 Startup Digital” yang mendorong anak-anak muda untuk menjadi *entrepreneur*, termasuk membuat berbagai *start-up* atau perusahaan rintisan (Kemkominfo, 2020). Selain itu, pemerintah pun mendorong Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (SMK) untuk membuka jurusan-jurusan yang berkaitan dengan industri kreatif (BeritaSatu, 2017). Begitu pula, beberapa universitas membuka jurusan terkait pengembangan sektor ekonomi kreatif di program vokasinya (Suara Merdeka, 2020).

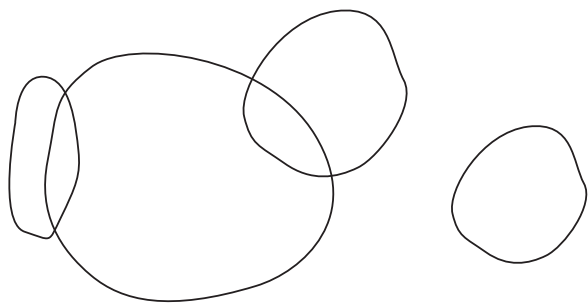
Bekerja sebagai *freelancer* pun lantas menjadi tren di kalangan anak-anak muda perkotaan, setidaknya sejak beberapa tahun terakhir. Sebuah survei pada Januari 2020 menunjukkan bahwa status kerja *freelance* diminati terutama oleh mereka yang bekerja di bidang industri kreatif, seperti desain, penulisan, dan pemasaran (Hadyan, 2020). Tidak terikat pada jam kerja umum ala pekerja kantoran kerap kali menjadi alasan utama untuk menjadi pekerja lepas. Terkait itu, jam kerja fleksibel ini pun sering

kali dimaknai sebagai bentuk kebebasan. Dengan kata lain, kerja fleksibel yang menjadi sistem kerja umum dalam industri kreatif pun sering kali menjadi daya tarik utama.

Padahal, hubungan kerja semacam ini sesungguhnya menyimpan dimensi kerentanan bagi para pekerja. Sistem kerja ini mengakibatkan munculnya kondisi yang disebut *flexploitation*. Dalam *flexploitation*, kondisi kerja dipenuhi oleh situasi yang membahayakan kesehatan, tidak adanya kepastian dan perjanjian kerja, pengelabuan hubungan kerja, hingga alpanya jaminan serta perlindungan sosial. Wacana mengenai fleksibilitas termasuk berbagai dimensi yang melingkupinya, juga *flexploitation* serta kerentanan para pekerja di industri kreatiflah yang akan didedah dalam penelitian ini. Selain itu, identifikasi posisi kelas dari para pekerja di industri ini pun akan menjadi sorotan.

Oleh karena itu, kami mengajukan pertanyaan penelitian sebagai berikut:

“bagaimana pekerja di industri kreatif memahami dan mengalami kerentanan dalam sistem kerja fleksibel di bawah rezim pasar tenaga kerja fleksibel saat ini?”



1 . 2

K A J I A N L I T E R A T U R

Kajian literatur berguna untuk memandu analisis hasil penelitian. Dalam penelitian ini, kajian literatur digunakan untuk memberikan kerangka pemahaman yang lebih luas mengenai masalah yang dikaji, termasuk menyediakan konsep-konsep dasar untuk membaca keseluruhan hasil penelitian (Marzali, 2016).

1 . 2 . 1

P E R K E M B A N G A N T E K N O L O G I D A N T R A N S F O R M A S I B E N T U K - B E N T U K K E R J A

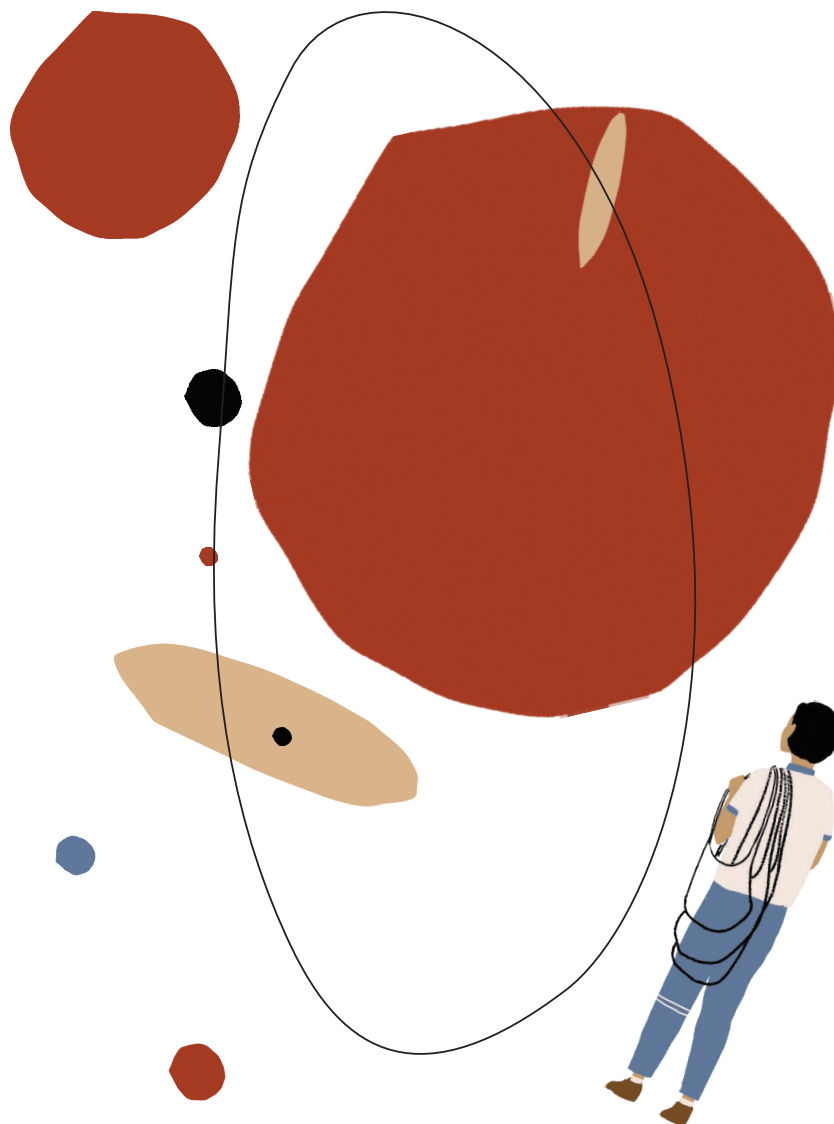
Satu prinsip ekonomi yang sering didengar adalah bagaimana dengan pengorbanan sekecil-kecilnya mendapatkan pemasukan yang sebesar-besarnya. Dalam konteks produksi, pengorbanan sekecil-kecilnya mewujud dalam minimalisasi *unit labour cost* melalui fleksibilitas (Suwandi, 2019b). Penerapan strategi dan rasionalisasi produksi, produksi *lean & mean* untuk mengendalikan *labour-value commodity chains*, semakin dimungkinkan dengan berkembang pesatnya teknologi informasi (Srnicsek, 2017; Suwandi 2019b).

Beberapa contoh rasionalisasi produksi yang memanfaatkan teknologi adalah sistem *delivery on demand* yang juga dikenal sebagai *just-in-time production* atau Sistem Produksi Toyota; sistem sertifikasi yang diterbitkan oleh pihak ketiga, seperti *International Organization for Standardization* (ISO) yang semakin sering disyaratkan ketika melakukan

perdagangan dan pemasokan; serta sistem *open-costing* yang menuntut rincian setiap biaya materi dan operasional dalam produksi (Suwandi 2019a).

Konsekuensi dari rasionalisasi produksi ini adalah inovasi dan pengetahuan hanya dapat diakses secara eksklusif oleh perusahaan-perusahaan dan organisasi besar yang bermodal (Suwandi, 2019b). Mereka mampu berinvestasi terhadap sistem-sistem dan sertifikasi sembari semakin menekan pemasok dan pekerja untuk menerapkan fleksibilitas dalam produksi. Konsekuensi lebih jauhnya, sistem seperti ini melanggengkan ketimpangan dengan memindahkan tuntutan produktivitas, tekanan fleksibilitas, biaya dan tanggung jawab produksi dari perusahaan besar dan multinasional ke pemasok yang acap kali skalanya lebih kecil beserta ke pekerja-pekerjanya (Suwandi, 2019a).

Pemindahan tuntutan produktivitas, fleksibilitas, biaya, dan tanggung jawab produksi ke pemasok dan pekerja ini terlihat jelas dalam

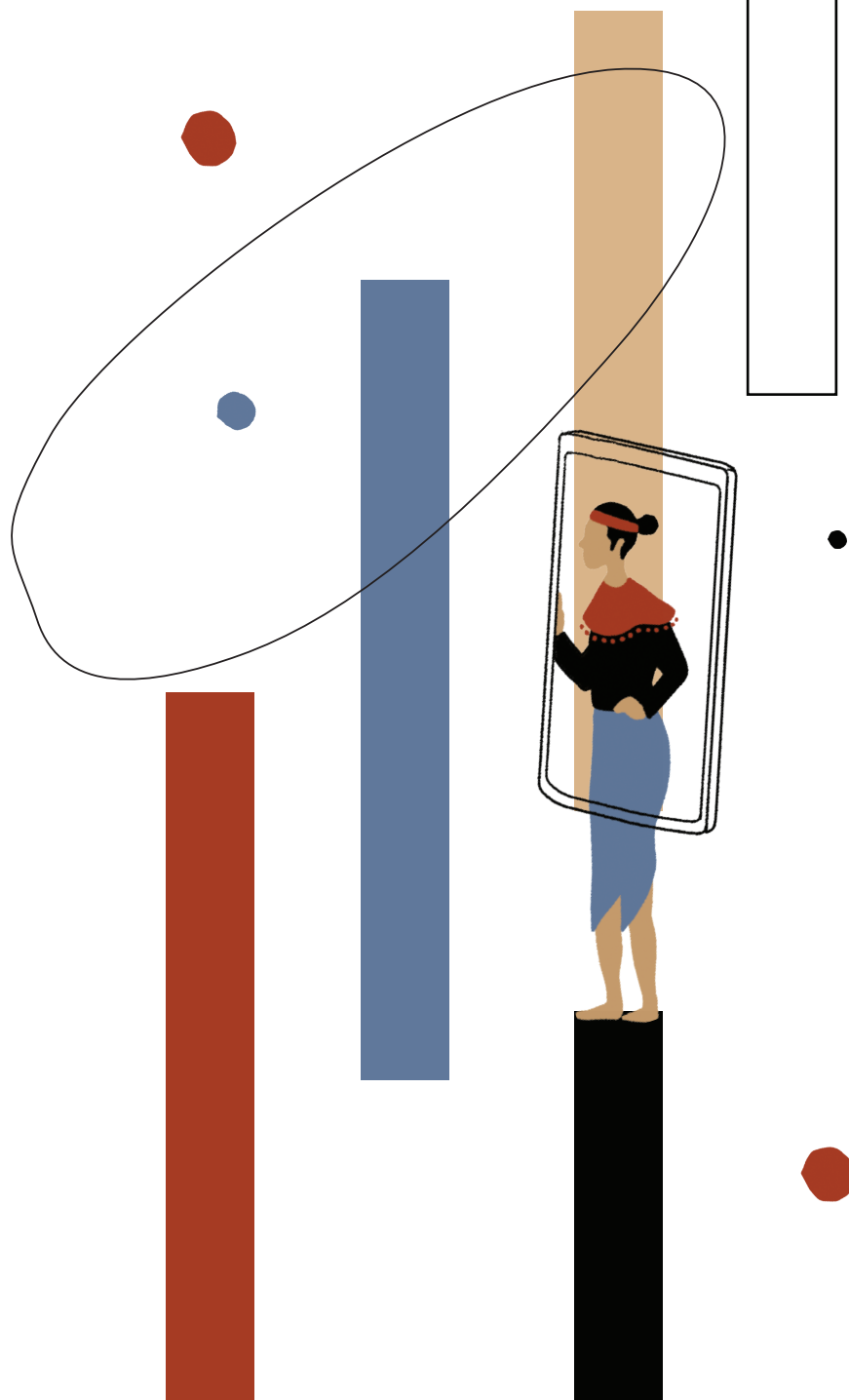


platform capitalism (Srnicsek, 2017). Dalam berbagai platform dan aplikasi digital seperti Uber, AirBnB, GoJek, Grab dan sejenisnya, jelas sekali bahwa pihak yang paling rentan adalah para pekerja yang berada di rantai produksi paling ujung, yang kerap diberi label "mitra". Ketimpangan yang dihasilkan dari rasionalisasi produksi semacam ini juga muncul di antara para pekerjanya. Qiu dkk (2014, hal. 570), dengan kerangka teori *circuit of labour*, menjelaskan di antara para pekerja teknologi terdapat stratifikasi internal seperti pembagian antara *self-programmable labour* dan *generic labour*. Lalu, muncul pula kategori baru bernama *information have-less* berkat perpindahan pekerjaan menengah di industri teknologi ke negara-negara berkembang, terutama China dan India. Mereka yang termasuk *information have-less* adalah orang-orang yang melakukan kerja-kerja yang disederhanakan dalam industri informasi.

Contoh jenis pekerjaan yang dimaksud adalah *software tester*, desainer grafis,

personnel quality control dan *database input*, pengelola konten media sosial, dan pengelola *online shop*— yang meski sering bekerja menggunakan komputer atau ponsel, banyak melakukan pekerjaan yang repetitif dan padat karya (Qiu, 2014). Banyak informan penelitian ini merupakan pekerja di bidang-bidang tersebut. Terkait itu, menurut Izzati (2020b), pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang muncul dalam bisnis Toko Daring berbasis Media Sosial (TDMS) juga melibatkan feminisasi kerja dan berkelindan dengan beban reproduksi sosial dari masyarakat kapitalis terhadap perempuan. Walhasil, kedua hal tersebut pun membentuk “kerja perempuan” yang ada di dalamnya (Ibid.).

Semua fenomena di atas membuktikan bahwa teknologi memengaruhi, dan lebih dari itu, mentransformasi bentuk-bentuk kerja. Di sektor industri kreatif, ia juga berdampak pada ekstensifikasi kerja. Kelindan antara keduanya paling jelas tampak dalam fenomena *gig economy* yang menurut



Woodcock dan Graham (2020, hal.10) merupakan “pasar tenaga kerja yang dicirikan oleh kontrak independen yang terjadi melalui dan pada platform digital.” Mereka bahkan mengatakan meningkatnya *gig economy* merupakan salah satu simbol utama perubahan kondisi kerja dan kehidupan. Berkaca pada kasus Indonesia, aplikasi transportasi *online*, salah satu simbol *gig economy*, tak diragukan lagi memang mengubah banyak hal.

Dengan kerangka tersebut, penelitian ini akan melihat lebih dalam bagaimana persisnya bentuk-bentuk kerja dalam industri kreatif di Indonesia dipengaruhi sekaligus memengaruhi perkembangan teknologi, kaitannya dengan fleksibilitas, serta bagaimana ia berdampak pada daya tawar dan kehidupan para pekerja.

1 . 2 . 2

DIMENSI FLEKSIBILITAS KERJA DI INDUSTRI KREATIF

Pengaturan kerja secara fleksibel atau *flexible work practices* (FWP) merupakan praktik kerja yang lazim ditemui pada ekosistem kerja industri kreatif (Leslie, dkk, 2012). Dalam hal ini, terdapat dua dimensi fleksibilitas yang saling berkaitan erat dalam industri kreatif.

Pertama, fleksibilitas ruang dan waktu kerja; *kedua*, fleksibilitas pasar tenaga kerja yang berhubungan dengan informalitas dan kerentanan para pekerja di dalamnya.

Konteks sejarah yang melatarinya adalah dimulainya era pasca-fordisme pada akhir 1970-an. Ciri utamanya adalah tidak lagi dominannya sentralisasi produksi komoditas dari hulu sampai hilir di suatu pabrik besar. Strategi baru yang dicetuskan perusahaan-perusahaan multinasional ini dilakukan juga dalam rangka menerapkan rasionalisasi

sistemik dan produksi yang fleksibel. Disebut menguntungkan karena mereka, perusahaan utama, mengalihdayakan (*outsource*) bagian-bagian produksi ke perusahaan lain, biasanya perusahaan di negara-negara Selatan yang tingkat upahnya relatif jauh lebih rendah dibandingkan dengan negara-negara Utara (Suwandi, 2019b).

Industri kreatif pun menerapkan sistem ini meski tidak semua produk dari industri kreatif menggunakan mode produksi ini. Hasil kreativitas seseorang tidak jarang diproduksi ulang secara massal ala mode produksi fordisme demi mendulang profit (Kong, 2014).

Meski demikian, kunci dari produksi dalam industri kreatif era pasca-fordisme terletak pada keahlian dari para pekerja sehingga dalam derajat tertentu tidak bisa digantikan dengan mesin (Crowley, dkk., 2010; Srnicek, 2017). Model kerja industri kreatif era pasca-fordisme didasarkan pada sistem upah-per-potong, yakni sistem

pengupahan berdasarkan hasil kerja (Chand, 2012). Para pekerja dengan sistem kerja upah-per-potong biasanya bekerja berdasarkan proyek, selain dalam waktu dan ruang kerja yang juga kian fleksibel (Shorthose & Strange, 2004). Oleh karena itu, mode produksi berdasarkan upah-per-potong ini menempatkan para pekerja di sektor industri kreatif ke dalam kategori informal.

Informalitas kerja sebetulnya terus meningkat pada hampir semua sektor industri. Seiring dengan berkembangnya fleksibilitas pasar tenaga kerja atau *labour market flexibility* (LMF) dalam neoliberalisme yang merupakan rezim utama pasar tenaga kerja dunia sejak akhir 1970-an hingga saat ini (Bieler, 2010; Harvey, 2007). Perkembangan LMF di industri kreatif mengakibatkan meningkatnya *flexploitation*—fleksibilitas dan eksploitasi, diperkenalkan oleh Pierre Bourdieu pada 1997—ditandai dengan meningkatnya sistem kerja yang “sebentar-sebentar, tidak teratur, dan informal” (Shorthose & Strange, 2004). *Flexploitation* yang dicirikan dengan masifnya kerja-kerja temporer dan dipenuhi ketidakpastian ini berdampak pada kondisi kerja yang rentan (Kong, 2014).

Para pekerja yang kurang berpengalaman serta para cadangan tenaga kerja (pengangguran) pun terjebak dalam pasar kerja yang terbatas (Izzati, 2020a). Mereka dihadapkan pada pilihan yang serba tidak enak: menganggur atau bekerja dengan upah rendah, dapat digantikan sewaktu-waktu, dan bekerja dalam status kerja temporer selamanya (Dombols, 2007).

Meski begitu, di era *platform capitalism* seperti sekarang, fleksibilitas tenaga kerja ternyata diwarnai oleh “citra-citra positif”. Srnicek (2017) menyebut salah satu citra tersebut adalah para pekerja “dibebaskan dari kakunya karier permanen dan diberikan kesempatan untuk menjual barang dan jasa apa pun yang mungkin ditawarkan.” Tidak heran, banyak orang—terutama anak-anak muda—

tertarik dengan pekerjaan di bidang ini sebagaimana telah disinggung pada subbab sebelumnya. Namun, citra itu tak menghilangkan fakta bahwa fleksibilitas pasar tenaga kerja merentankan para pekerja. Bridges (2018) bahkan menyebut industri-industri berbasis teknologi saat ini bukan hanya menghasilkan kondisi kerja yang rentan, tapi sebaliknya, kondisi kerja yang rentan adalah basis dari industri-industri tersebut.

1 . 2 . 3

KERENTANAN PEKERJA DALAM FLEKSIBILITAS PASAR TENAGA KERJA

Ketiadaan jaminan, perlindungan sosial, dan *job security* sebagai hasil dari *flexploitation* merupakan beberapa jenis kerentanan utama yang dialami para pekerja di industri kreatif. Beberapa studi juga menyebutkan dampak lain dari kerja-kerja rentan di industri kreatif, baik secara fisik maupun mental. Eikhof & Warhurst (2013, hal. 8) menyebutkan, “tenggat yang ketat membuat jam kerja lebih panjang, termasuk bekerja di malam hari dan akhir pekan, menjadi norma.” Sementara survei yang Gil (2002, hal. 71), lakukan terhadap 125 responden *freelancer* di enam negara Eropa menyatakan, “terlepas dari citranya yang keren, non-hierarkis, dan egaliter, sektor ini dikarakterisasi dengan *insecurity*, bayaran yang murah, dan jam kerja yang panjang.” Upah yang diterima tak dapat memenuhi standar hidup layak.

Gill (2002) juga menyebut ketidaksetaraan gender sebagai ciri lain dari industri ini. Upah perempuan selalu ditempatkan lebih rendah dibanding laki-laki.

Konstruksi patriarki dalam masyarakat kapitalis yang selalu menempatkan perempuan sebagai pencari nafkah tambahan menjadi penyebab utama (Mies, 1998; Federici, 2014).

Lorey (2015) menjabarkan lebih luas mengenai kerentanan para pekerja yang tidak mencakup aspek ekonomi semata. Ia melakukan penelusuran yang ketat terhadap proses produksi dan niscayanya kerentanan dengan membedakan antara *precariousness*, *precarity*, dan *precarization*. Berdasarkan konseptualisasi filosofis Judith Butler, *precariousness* dimaknai sebagai suatu hal yang eksistensial, relasional, dan tidak dapat dihindari mengingat secara esensial semua manusia rentan terhadap penyakit dan kecelakaan. Meski demikian, *precariousness* tidak dialami secara sama dan merata. *Precairity*, dimensi kerentanan yang kedua, mengacu pada ketidaksetaraan dan ketidakpastian atau ketidakamanan berdasarkan hierarki sosial dalam masyarakat (ketidaksetaraan kelas, gender, ras, dll).

Aspek terakhir, *precarization* atau perentanan, merupakan instrumen yang menciptakan ketidakamanan atau ketidakpastian dan ditujukan untuk membuat penduduk menjadi rentan. Dengan ini warga negara dapat diatur, tunduk, dan ikut serta dengan apa yang dilakukan oleh para penyelenggara negara. Lorey (2015, hal. 127) mengatakan perentanan telah dilumrahkan dan diinternalisasi melalui logika neoliberal dan menghasilkan apa yang ia sebut sebagai prekarisasi diri.

Polimpung (2018) berargumen tujuan utama prekarisasi adalah mengarahkan, mengkooptasi dan merebut kreativitas ini demi kepentingan akumulasi profit dan kekuasaan para penguasa dan pemodal. Polimpung (2018) menambahkan, para pekerja dipaksa kreatif untuk bertahan hidup, tetapi hasil kreativitasnya tidak dipetik oleh para pekerja, melainkan oleh para majikan.

Namun, meski dalam derajat tertentu para pekerja di industri ini dapat berkarya sesuai dengan nilai-nilai yang mereka yakini, otonomi tersebut sering kali dirampas. Perampasan otonomi ini dapat dilihat dalam fenomena *artwashing*, yaitu dibajaknya seni dan kreativitas untuk kepentingan gentrifikasi (Mould, 2018). Kreativitas dan seni dalam konteks ini digunakan demi penciptaan ruang-ruang kapital atau wilayah-wilayah “trendi” yang dapat menarik investasi (*Ibid.*). Dalam *artwashing*, para pekerja industri kreatif tidak dapat menggunakan otonominya dengan penuh karena produk kreativitas mereka dituntut sejalan dengan kepentingan gentrifikasi. Dengan kata lain, dalam *artwashing*, para pekerja industri kreatif dihadapkan pada pilihan untuk tetap menjalankan etika sosialnya di tengah pertarungan bertahan hidup (*Ibid.*).

Kenyataan mengenai *artwashing* ini bertentangan dengan argumen Meulders & Wilkin (1991) yang menyebut bahwa ada sejumlah asumsi positif dari pasar tenaga fleksibel, di antaranya pekerja dan pemberi kerja punya kebebasan yang relatif setara untuk melakukan pertukaran rasional.

Persoalan mengenai otonomi relatif para pekerja di industri ini juga terkait dengan problem status kerjanya. Dengan otonomi relatif, para pekerja sering kali dianggap sebagai *self-employed workers* dan bahkan *entrepreneur* meski tidak semuanya demikian. Di Indonesia, pengelabuan hubungan kerja ini terjadi melalui dua bentuk. *Pertama*, melalui penyebutan ‘pekerja kreatif’. *Kedua*, melalui wacana *entrepreneurship* yang tumbuh subur dalam *gig economy*. Pengelabuan soal status kerja ini turut berkontribusi terhadap kondisi dan kerentanan mereka.

Kemudian, kebanyakan para pekerja di industri kreatif bekerja pada suatu perusahaan atau tempat kerja dengan status beragam. Status kerja tersebut di antaranya pekerja lepas, pekerja dengan perjanjian kerja tidak tetap, pekerja dengan perjanjian kerja tetap, serta pekerja dengan

beberapa status kerja sekaligus (Izzati, 2020a). Kondisi-kondisi yang membuat berbagai pekerjaan di industri kreatif masuk ke dalam kategori *shit jobs* (Graeber, 2018) tersebut kemudian berdampak pada kesehatan dan keselamatan pekerja, termasuk kesehatan mental (Izzati, 2020a). Resah, cemas, dan merasa terisolasi merupakan beberapa kondisi mental yang sering mereka alami akibat kondisi kerja di bawah *flexploitation* (Kong, 2014). Lebih jauh, tempat kerja yang mengakomodasi identitas pekerja yang beragam, tapi tidak memenuhi hak-hak dasar seperti upah layak pun dapat menjadi indikasi lain kerentanan para pekerja di industri ini.

Meski demikian, pada akhirnya, mereka tidak punya banyak pilihan, kecuali tetap menjual tenaga kerja (Marx, 1887).

1 . 2 . 4

POSISI KELAS DAN KEKUATAN KELAS PEKERJA

Pembahasan mengenai posisi kelas penting untuk meletakkan situasi pekerja di tengah berbagai transformasi bentuk kerja yang memengaruhi kondisi kerja dan kehidupannya. Pembacaan ini berguna untuk melihat sejauh mana posisi pekerja dalam industri kreatif dapat memengaruhi kesadaran kelas.

Sistem kerja fleksibel yang masif di seluruh dunia, sebagaimana telah disinggung pada subbab sebelumnya, menurut Standing (2011) telah memunculkan sebuah *class in the making* yang disebut *precariat*. Foti (2017) mengatakan bahwa *precariat* secara garis besar dibagi menjadi dua kategori dengan parameter tingkat pendidikan. *Pertama*, mereka yang berada dalam “kelas kreatif”

seperti editor, desainer, artis, dan *programmer* yang kadang memiliki tarif jauh lebih besar dan bekerja dalam ekonomi informasi di kota-kota besar. *Kedua, pink collar*. Mereka adalah pekerja administratif atau pelayanan yang terfeminisasi dan kerap kali dikerjakan oleh perempuan di bidang jasa dan waralaba (seperti kasir, petugas kebersihan, *office boy*, koki, pelayan, admin media sosial atau TDMS, *customer service*, dsb).

Namun, argumen bahwa *precariat* merupakan sebuah *class in the making* dibantah oleh Wright (2015). Menurutnya, *precariat* bukanlah kelas sosial tersendiri meski merupakan segmen kelas pekerja yang paling berkembang dan penanggung kesedihan paling mendalam melawan kapitalisme. *Precariat*, secara esensial, merupakan bagian dari kelas pekerja. Memperlakukan *precariat* sebagai sebuah kelas, bahkan sebagai sebuah *class in the making*, lebih mengaburkan daripada menjernihkan (Ibid.).

Selain *precariat*, hal penting lain yang perlu diperhatikan dari posisi kelas ini ialah meningkatnya fenomena kelas menengah yang terutama muncul di negara-negara Selatan, seperti India, China termasuk Indonesia (Therborn, 2020). Menurut Yates (2018, hal. 23), kelas menengah global merupakan mereka yang pendapatan rumah tangganya (kebanyakan berupa upah) ada di antara persentil dua puluh hingga tujuh puluh dari distribusi pendapatan. Beberapa penelitian lain, seperti yang dilakukan oleh Banerjee dan Duflo (2008), mengaitkan kelas menengah dengan pekerjaan yang dianggap stabil dan akses yang baik terhadap perlindungan sosial. Namun, menurut Therborn (2020, hal. 80), “literatur-literatur yang berfokus pada kelas menengah gagal melihat ketidakadilan sistematis yang dihasilkan oleh kapitalisme pasca-industrial saat ini.”

Di sinilah kategori-kategori kerja, sebagaimana diungkap oleh Huws (2014), penting untuk dilihat kembali untuk menentukan posisi para pekerja, baik yang pekerjaan dan

pendapatannya cenderung stabil maupun yang tidak. Dalam hal ini, apa yang terjadi pada *freelancers* di negara-negara Utara, sebagaimana diungkapkan oleh Therborn (2020, hal. 86), juga dialami para pekerja lepas di negara-negara Selatan seperti Indonesia.

Hal lain yang juga penting dalam melihat posisi kelas adalah menganalisis kesadaran kelas para pekerja dengan melihat sejauh mana mereka menggunakan *associational power* dan *structural power* yang dimiliki (Wright, dikutip oleh Silver, 2008). *Associational power* menjelaskan kekuatan kelas pekerja dalam konteks serikat; sementara *structural power* menjelaskan kekuatan kelas pekerja terkait posisinya dalam industri di mana mereka bekerja.

Persepsi para informan tentang serikat buruh/pekerja pun menjadi salah satu acuan pertanyaan dalam riset ini. Tujuannya untuk melihat sejauh mana informan memposisikan diri dalam kehidupan sosial dan politik yang lebih luas.

1 . 3

METODOLOGI : RISET DI TENGAH PANDEMI

1 . 3 . 1

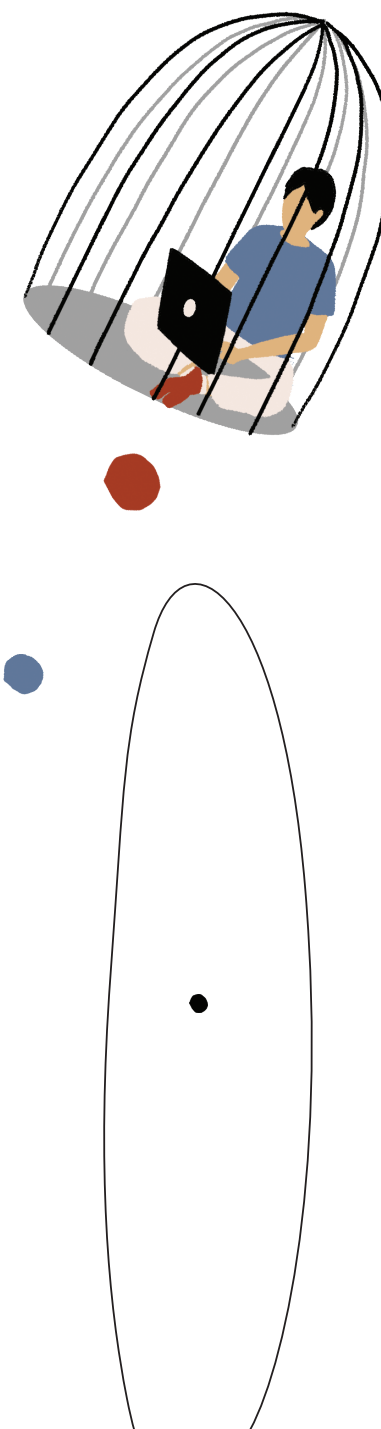
RATIONALE

Pada awalnya, kami (tim peneliti) memilih pendekatan etnografis sebagai metodologi utama yang relevan untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian ini. Etnografi merupakan

metodologi yang sering digunakan dalam disiplin ilmu antropologi dan sosiologi yang *iterative-inductive* dan menggabungkan sekumpulan metode riset yang bertumpu pada keterlibatan dan *deep listening* untuk menghasilkan "*richly written accounts that respect the irreducibility of human experience*" (O'Reilly 2009, 3). Pendekatan ini berusaha lebih mendengarkan dan merefleksikan pengalaman manusia, alih-alih mereduksinya.

Pendekatan etnografis beserta metode-metode turunannya, seperti wawancara etnografis, diharapkan dapat membantu kami memahami pengalaman para pekerja industri kreatif yang kompleks, majemuk, dan interseksional secara lebih dalam dan dekat. Selain itu, belum adanya penelitian mengenai fleksibilitas dan kerentanan para pekerja industri kreatif, khususnya di Indonesia, yang dibangun dari perspektif dan pengalaman pekerja memperkuat alasan kami memilih metodologi ini.

Wawancara etnografis dan *focus group discussion* (FGD)



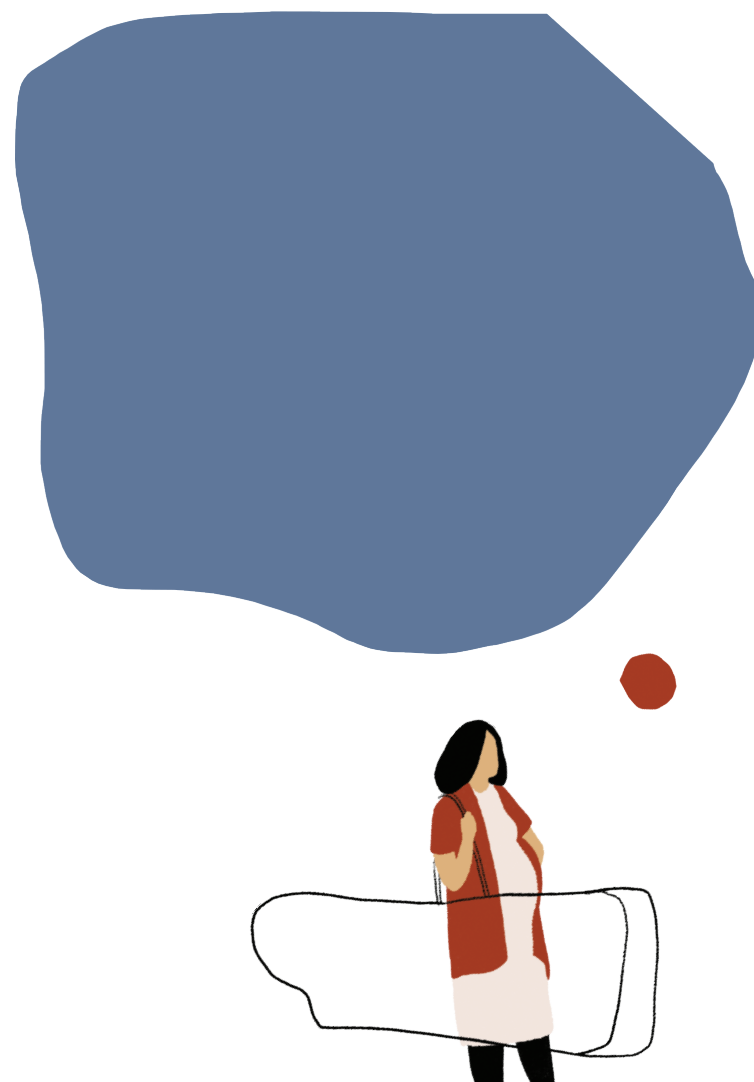
pada mulanya dipilih sebagai teknik pengumpulan data dan pengetahuan dalam riset ini. Dalam pendekatan etnografis, wawancara berbentuk percakapan yang natural dan egaliter antara peneliti dan peserta riset atau informan penelitian. Hasil dari wawancara etnografis adalah hasil kerja sama antara pewawancara dengan informan. Dalam *construction site of knowledge* (Kvale 1996), pewawancara berupaya memahami informan akan dunia dan hidupnya, tafsiran, pemaknaan, dan narasinya (Skinner 2012, 9).

Rencananya, wawancara akan dilakukan terhadap lima belas informan dengan komposisi masing-masing lima orang dari setiap kota, yakni Bandung, Jakarta, dan Surabaya. Wawancara etnografis direncanakan akan berdurasi panjang (tiga hingga enam jam), dapat dilakukan lebih dari sekali, dan wawancara berlangsung selama satu tahun penelitian. Sementara itu, satu FGD direncanakan akan digelar di Jakarta.

Akan tetapi, sejak Maret 2020, seperti negara-negara lainnya di seluruh dunia, Indonesia tertimpa wabah Covid-19 sehingga kami perlu mempertimbangkan ulang pemilihan metodologi riset yang mengharuskan peneliti bertatap muka dengan informan penelitian. Dengan kondisi ini, kami membatalkan FGD, mengubahnya menjadi tambahan wawancara individu, dan memindahkan semua wawancara menjadi wawancara mendalam secara daring.

Wawancara mendalam secara daring tetap dilakukan dengan mengadopsi prinsip-prinsip etnografi (meskipun tidak bisa dikategorikan sebagai metodologi etnografi secara utuh), seperti *deep listening* dan *deep enquiring*, namun dengan *limited participation*. Prinsip-prinsip tersebut pun diadaptasi melalui wawancara yang berpusat pada pengalaman dan perspektif informan penelitian dengan pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang terbuka (*individual semi-structured interviews*).

Durasi dari setiap wawancara berkisar dua hingga tiga jam terhadap total enam belas informan. Hasil wawancara mendalam secara daring kami analisis menggunakan kerangka kajian literatur sebagaimana tercantum pada bagian sebelumnya. Hasil akhir dari analisis penelitian ini akan disajikan dalam bentuk kajian akademik sosiologis dan kertas kebijakan.



1 . 3 . 2

INFORMAN PENELITIAN

Pemilihan informan penelitian bertumpu pada kriteria yang kami susun berdasarkan pembacaan awal terhadap penelitian-penelitian yang sudah ada tentang fleksibilitas dan kerentanan pekerja industri kreatif. Kami juga mempertimbangkan enam belas subsektor ekonomi kreatif yang dirilis oleh Bekraf tahun 2015 dan mengkontekstualkan dengan kondisi pekerja industri kreatif saat ini. Misalnya, memasukkan industri jasa di subsektor kuliner yang digadang-gadang berkontribusi paling besar terhadap PDB ekonomi kreatif, yaitu 41,69% (DetikNews.com). Adapun seorang informan yang bekerja sebagai jurnalis *freelance* dapat dikategorikan sebagai pekerja di bidang industri kreatif mengingat bidang pekerjaannya yang bersinggungan erat dengan perkembangan kerja-kerja di bidang “kreatif” atau kerja berbasis kognitif, teknologi, dan riset.

Selain mempertimbangkan latar belakang profesi yang relevan dengan pertanyaan riset, kami juga menambahkan beberapa kriteria seperti batasan usia 18-45 tahun, latar belakang gender yang majemuk, serta berdomisili di tiga kota pilihan, yaitu Jakarta, Bandung, dan Surabaya. Tiga kota ini dipilih karena merupakan daerah metropolitan di Indonesia yang lekat dengan persepsi sebagai “kota kreatif” (Kemenparekraf RI, 2020)

Pemilihan informan juga dipengaruhi jaringan yang tim peneliti miliki serta kesediaan para peserta untuk terlibat dan menandatangani *consent form* sebelum wawancara dilaksanakan.

Dalam penelitian ini, identitas seluruh informan dijamin dan dilindungi kerahasiaannya. Nama-nama mereka ditandai dengan kode berikut.

TABEL 1.

**DAFTAR INFORMAN
PENELITIAN**

No.	Nama	Kota	Gender	Pekerjaan
1	1.B.	Bandung	P	Pekerja lepas dekorator acara pernikahan
2	1.S.	Bandung	P	Ilustrator
3	1.J.	Jakarta	L	Editor video
4	2. B.	Bandung	P	Pekerja kerajinan & pegiat kuliner
5	2.S.	Surabaya	L	Staf percetakan & desainer grafis
6	2.J.	Jakarta	L	Jurnalis lepas
7	3.B.	Bandung	L	Ilustrator

8	3.S.	Surabaya	P	<i>Event organizer & manajemen musik</i>
9	3.J.	Jakarta	P	Agensi Iklan
10	4.B.	Bandung	P	Fotografer & seniman
11	4.S.	Surabaya	P	Admin dan kasir cafe
12	4.J.	Jakarta	P	<i>Self-employed artist, pemilik online shop di Instagram</i>
13	5.B.	Bandung	L	Penata suara, musisi
14	5.S.	Surabaya	P	Pengembang perangkat lunak
15	5.J.	Jakarta	L	Pekerja IT
16	1.F. (Pengganti FGD)	Jakarta	P (transpuan, pronounce she/her)	Penerjemah dan editor naskah

Sumber: disusun oleh tim peneliti.

Dari tabel di atas, dapat dilihat bahwa jumlah informan perempuan (W) lebih banyak dibandingkan yang laki-laki (M) dan salah satu informan pengganti FGD merupakan transpuan.

1 . 3 . 3

METODE RISET DAN REFLEKSI TENTANG METODE PENGUMPULAN DATA

Seperti dijelaskan pada bagian sebelumnya, metode utama yang dipilih untuk mengumpulkan data adalah *semi-structured individual interviews* mendalam secara daring dengan daftar pertanyaan acuan yang sudah dipersiapkan. Daftar pertanyaan dibagi dalam lima bagian: *pertama*, biografi; *kedua*, kondisi kerja; *ketiga*, persepsi dan pengalaman terkait fleksibilitas kerja; *keempat*, persepsi dan pengalaman terkait kerentanan kerja; dan *kelima*, perspektif terkait kebijakan ketenagakerjaan, jaminan sosial, dan serikat buruh/pekerja. Wawancara daring dilakukan terhadap seluruh informan sejak 28 April hingga 20 Juni 2020.

Platform daring yang digunakan untuk wawancara disesuaikan dengan kesediaan informan. Beberapa di antaranya adalah Google Meet, Jitsi, dan WhatsApp dengan mengaktifkan fitur video. Setiap wawancara berdurasi antara dua sampai tiga jam dengan pertanyaan-

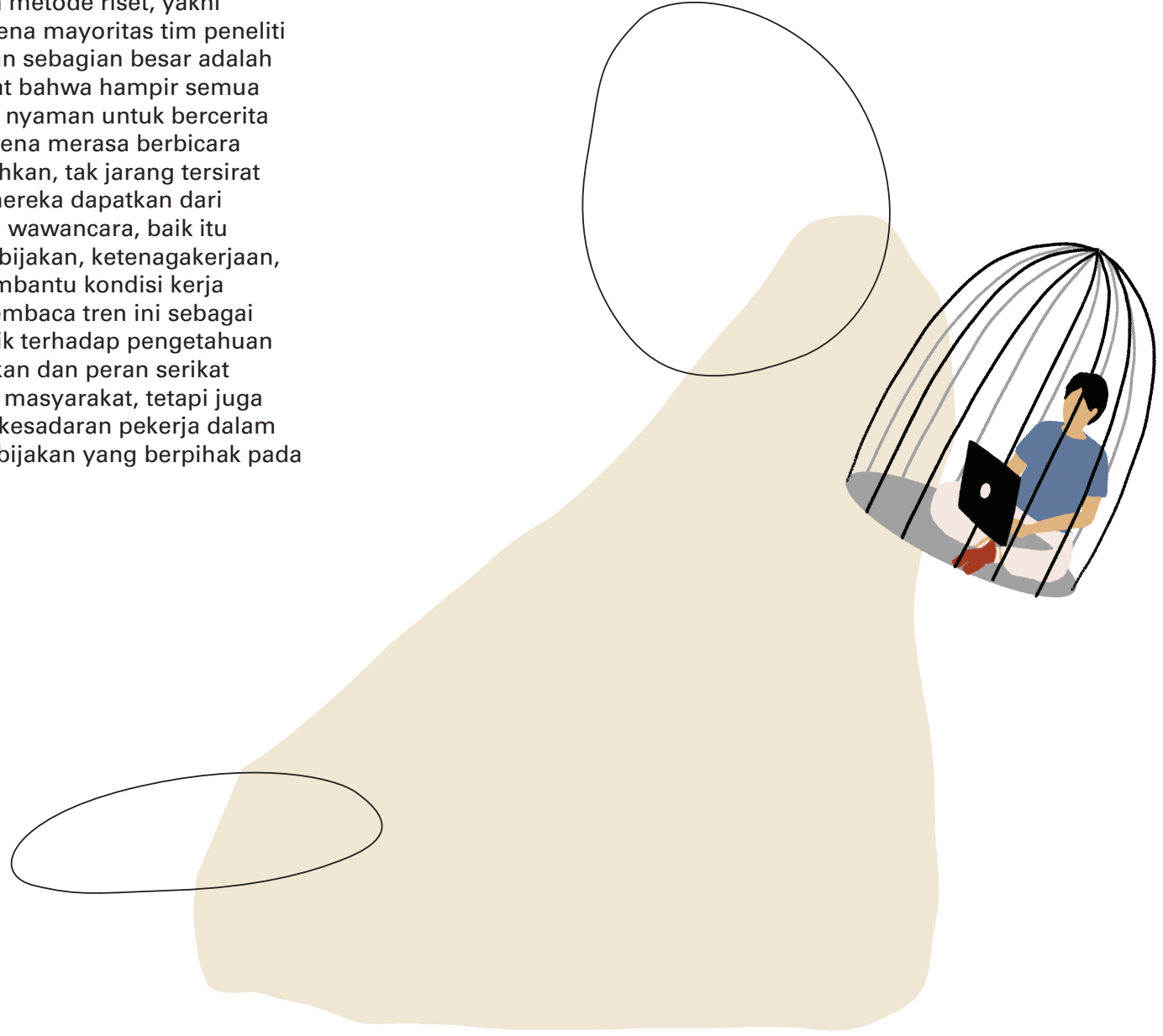
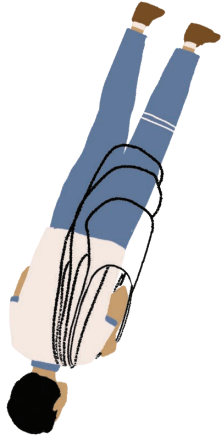
pertanyaan terbuka dan berlangsung dengan lancar. Semua audio wawancara direkam untuk kepentingan transkrip dan disetujui oleh informan melalui *consent form* yang ditandatangani.

Semua rekaman wawancara ditranskrip kemudian di-*coding* dengan pendekatan *line-by-line coding* (Glaser, 1978). Pendekatan ini dipakai untuk menemukan tema-tema yang muncul yang kami identifikasi sebagai *recurring regularities* (Patton, 2002) dan dianalisis secara tematik. Kami juga melengkapi penelitian ini dengan informasi atau data sekunder yang didapat dari *desk research* dan riset kebijakan, khususnya pada bagian kajian literatur dan analisis.

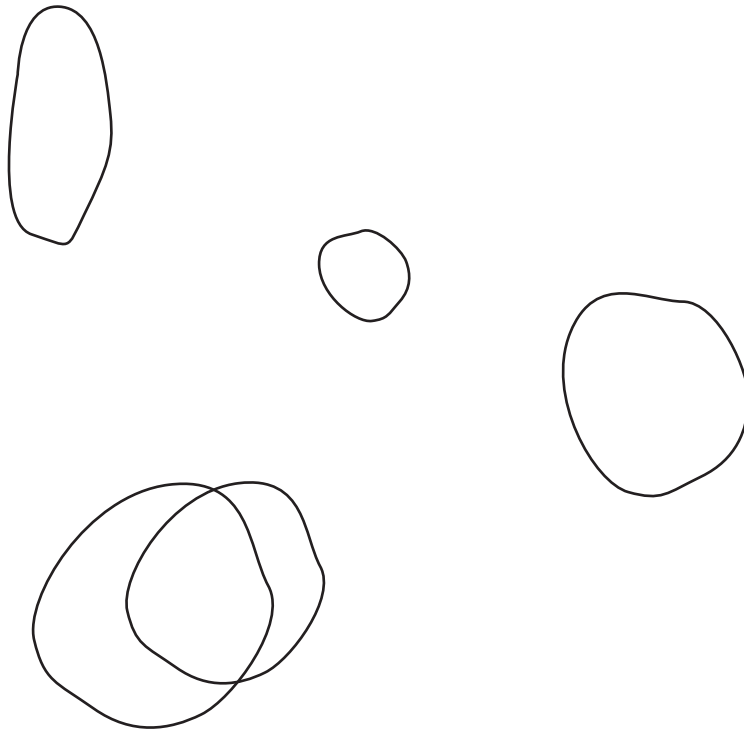
Melakukan penelitian di masa pandemi tentu mendatangkan beberapa tantangan baik dari sisi pendekatan maupun proses. Dengan memindahkan wawancara mendalam ke medium daring, kami menemukan beberapa keterbatasan dalam menjaga kenyamanan para informan, terutama ketika wawancara berdurasi panjang. Kami juga menyadari ketidaknyamanan pun hadir di sisi tim peneliti sebab merasa bersalah apabila mengambil waktu terlalu panjang dari informan. Hal ini memengaruhi pilihan kami untuk tidak melakukan wawancara lebih dari satu kali dengan mereka.

Wawancara juga cenderung terasa lebih kaku terutama apabila belum terjalin *rapport* dengan informan sebelumnya. Konsekuensinya, butuh waktu lebih lama bagi para informan agar dapat lebih lepas dalam mengemukakan pandangan-pandangan serta pengalaman-pengalaman mereka terutama pada bagian-bagian awal wawancara. Pembangunan *rapport* dan keluwesan dalam wawancara ini tentu tidak berlaku untuk informan penelitian yang sudah mengenal tim peneliti sebelumnya. Kendala lainnya, medium daring juga memberikan beberapa masalah teknis, seperti koneksi internet yang tidak stabil dan kualitas suara serta video yang beragam.

Tantangan berikutnya terkait dengan *positionality* peneliti yang mengemuka karena pilihan metode riset, yakni wawancara mendalam. Oleh karena mayoritas tim peneliti adalah pekerja industri kreatif dan sebagian besar adalah anggota SINDIKASI, kami melihat bahwa hampir semua informan penelitian dapat cukup nyaman untuk bercerita tentang kondisi kerja mereka karena merasa berbicara dengan teman seperjuangan. Bahkan, tak jarang tersirat harapan akan solusi yang bisa mereka dapatkan dari tim peneliti saat maupun setelah wawancara, baik itu informasi lebih lanjut tentang kebijakan, ketenagakerjaan, atau bagaimana serikat bisa membantu kondisi kerja mereka yang tidak adil. Kami membaca tren ini sebagai kritik sekaligus kesempatan. Kritik terhadap pengetahuan tentang ketenagakerjaan, kebijakan dan peran serikat yang cenderung masih jauh dari masyarakat, tetapi juga kesempatan untuk membangun kesadaran pekerja dalam memahami peran serikat dan kebijakan yang berpihak pada kelas pekerja.



EKOSISTEM INDUSTRI KREATIF DI INDONESIA



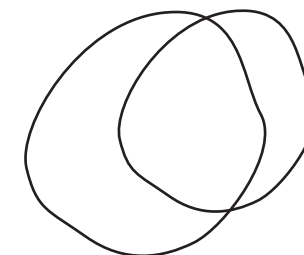
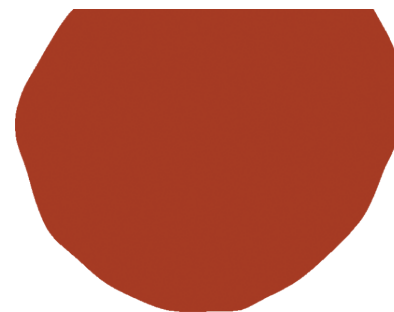
2 . 1

APA ITU INDUSTRI KREATIF?

Penerapan ekonomi dan industri kreatif dalam kebijakan nasional pertama kali dimulai di Inggris oleh *Department of Culture, Media and Sport* (DCMS). Saat itu industri kreatif digunakan untuk menggantikan kriteria “industri budaya” (Mommaas 2009, 51; O’Connor 2011, 38). Perubahan ini mencerminkan perluasan cakupan kebijakan industri budaya dan memberi ruang untuk agenda industri kreatif yang berbeda dari kebijakan industri budaya. Misalnya, industri kreatif kini didefinisikan untuk mencakup pula bisnis hiburan, fesyen, desain—subsektor-subsektor yang sebelumnya tidak dianggap masuk dalam industri budaya. Pada tahun-tahun berikutnya, minat pada industri kreatif, dalam kebijakan ekonomi dan sosial semakin meningkat dan menyebar ke negara-negara lain—beserta komodifikasi aspek artistik dan kreativitas.

Namun, apa yang dimaksud dengan ekonomi kreatif dan industri kreatif? Menurut DCMS, yang kebijakannya cukup berpengaruh dalam pembentukan kebijakan di negara-negara lain, industri kreatif adalah industri-industri yang berasal dari kreativitas, keahlian, dan bakat individu yang berpotensi menciptakan kekayaan dan pekerjaan melalui

generasi dan eksploitasi properti intelektual (DCMS 2001, p. 04). Namun, sering kali, sebagaimana diuraikan oleh Kong (2014), penerapan kebijakan dan subsektor industri kreatif berubah (seperti dapat dilihat di tabel 2) serta berbeda-beda di tiap negara.



TABEL 2 .

**PERUBAHAN SUBSEKTOR
DALAM KEBIJAKAN
EKONOMI KREATIF
INGGRIS**

2002, di bawah DCMS

1. Periklanan

2. Arsitektur

3. Pasar seni dan barang antik

4. Kriya

2015, di bawah DCMS

1. Periklanan dan pemasaran

2. Arsitektur

3. Kriya

4. Desain: produk, grafis, dan fesyen

5. Desain

5. Film, TV, video, radio, dan fotografi

6. Fesyen

6. IT, peranti lunak, dan layanan komputer

7. Film dan video

7. Penerbitan

8. Musik

8. Museum, galeri, dan perpustakaan

9. Seni pertunjukan

9. Musik, pertunjukan, dan seni visual

10. Penerbitan

11. Peranti lunak

12. Televisi dan radio

13. Video dan games komputer

Sumber: DCMS

Sebagaimana telah disinggung pada bab sebelumnya, sangat sulit mencapai definisi industri kreatif yang universal karena tidak adanya konsensus mengenai subsektor mana saja yang dapat dipertimbangkan sebagai bagian dari industri kreatif. Dengan kata lain, tidak ada sistem klasifikasi internasional untuk industri kreatif. Karenanya, istilah industri kreatif memiliki pemahaman yang berbeda-beda di berbagai negara. Bahkan dalam satu negara pun definisinya dapat berbeda antardaerah (Banks dan O'Connor 2009, 366). Sebagai contoh, definisi industri kreatif di Asia dan Australia cenderung lebih luas dan dapat mencakup industri seperti *game online* dan bahkan pengatur acara pernikahan. Ketiadaan definisi dan kategori yang konsisten dalam industri kreatif menyulitkan pengumpulan data yang akurat dan dapat diperbandingkan pada waktu dan lokasi yang berbeda.

Di Indonesia, kebijakan ekonomi kreatif dan subsektor yang dipertimbangkan sebagai industri kreatif dapat dilihat di Tabel 3. Secara formal, wacana, program, dan kebijakan, industri kreatif mulai diperkenalkan pada 2007 semasa pemerintahan Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dengan pembuatan cetak biru pada tahun 2008 yang kemudian diadopsi dalam kebijakan nasional melalui Keppres Nomor 6 Tahun 2009 di bawah Kementerian Perdagangan. Pada 2011, kewenangan penanganan industri kreatif dipindah ke Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif dan subsektor kuliner pun ditambahkan (Kemenparekraf 2011). Kemudian, di bawah pemerintahan Jokowi pada 2015, ditambahkan pula subsektor pengembangan aplikasi dan *games*, serta subsektor desain diubah menjadi tiga subsektor, yakni desain interior, komunikasi visual, dan produk, yang diterapkan hingga sekarang (sebagaimana tercantum di situs resmi Kemenparekraf di <https://www.kemenparekraf.go.id/>).

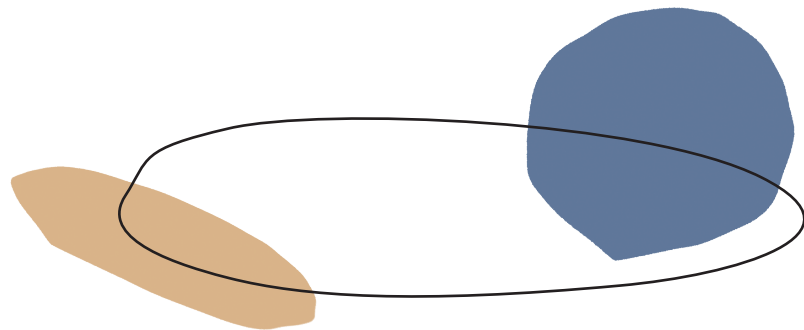
TABEL 3 .
PERUBAHAN SUBSEKTOR
DALAM KEBIJAKAN
EKONOMI KREATIF
INDONESIA

2009	2011	2015
<p>(di bawah Kementerian Perdagangan)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Periklanan 2. Arsitektur 3. Seni dan pasar antik 4. Kriya 5. Desain 6. Fesyen 7. Film, video, dan fotografi 8. Permainan interaktif 9. Musik 10. Seni pertunjukan 11. Penerbitan 12. Layanan komputer dan peranti lunak 13. Radio dan televisi 14. Riset dan pengembangan 	<p>(di bawah Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Periklanan 2. Arsitektur 3. Seni dan pasar antik 4. Kriya 5. Desain 6. Fesyen 7. Film, video, dan fotografi 8. Permainan interaktif 9. Musik 10. Seni pertunjukan 11. Percetakan dan penerbitan 12. Layanan komputer dan peranti lunak 13. Radio dan televisi 14. Riset dan pengembangan 15. Kuliner 	<p>(di bawah Badan Ekonomi Kreatif, semenjak 2019 kembali ke Kementerian Pariwisata & Ekonomi Kreatif)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pengembang aplikasi dan <i>games</i> 2. Arsitektur 3. Desain interior 4. Desain komunikasi visual 5. Desain produk 6. Fesyen 7. Film, animasi, video 8. Fotografi 9. Kriya 10. Kuliner 11. Musik 12. Penerbitan 13. Periklanan 14. Seni pertunjukan 15. Seni visual 16. Televisi dan radio

Sumber: Keppres Nomor 6 Tahun 2009, Kemenparekraf 2011, dan PerPres Nomor 69 Tahun 2019.

Sebagaimana dapat kita lihat di Tabel 3, penelitian dan pengembangan dihapus dalam kebijakan industri kreatif terbaru. Padahal, industri kreatif didefinisikan sebagai industri yang memproduksi karya-karya kreatif dan inovatif yang dapat menghasilkan hak kekayaan intelektual dan keuntungan ekonomi. Namun, subsektor bidang ilmiah yang jelas banyak menghasilkan hak kekayaan intelektual dan keuntungan ekonomi malah dihapuskan dari subsektor industri kreatif. Seperti yang disampaikan Scott (2013), wacana dan analisis industri kreatif sering kali terfokus pada penampilan, estetika, media, dan budaya, tapi justru mengabaikan bidang-bidang ilmiah, penelitian yang menghasilkan inovasi dan hak kekayaan intelektual. Dari sini dapat dilihat bagaimana definisi industri kreatif bisa sangat tidak jelas, berubah-ubah meluas ataupun menyempit tergantung pada kebijakan yang berlaku, dan menyentuh berbagai sektor.

Dengan mempertimbangkan hal-hal tersebut, dalam penelitian ini, kami (tim peneliti) pun menggunakan definisi industri kreatif yang tidak terbatas enam belas subsektor yang didefinisikan secara resmi oleh negara. Akan tetapi, juga menyentuh berbagai sektor yang bersinggungan secara langsung di dalamnya. Secara khusus, dalam penelitian ini, kami juga menyoroti persinggungan *gig economy* dalam industri kreatif beserta dampaknya.



2 . 2

INDUSTRI KREATIF DAN PERSINGGUNGANNYA DENGAN GIG ECONOMY

Gig economy biasanya dipahami untuk mencakup dua bentuk kerja, yaitu (1) *crowdsourcing work* atau *crowdwork* seperti Amazon MTurk (Irani, 2015; Gray & Suri, 2019), dan (2) *work on-demand* atau kerja sesuai orderan melalui aplikasi (De Stefano, 2016). Woodcock dan Graham (2020) mendefinisikan *gig economy* sebagai:

“pasar tenaga kerja yang dicirikan oleh kontrak yang independen melalui, menggunakan, dan pada platform digital. Jenis pekerjaan yang ditawarkan tidak menentu: kasual dan nonpermanen. jamnya bisa berubah-ubah dan kepastian kerjanya rendah, pembayarannya berbasis kerja-kerja kecil, dan rendahnya pilihan pengembangan karier.”

Meningkatnya *gig economy*, menurut Woodcock dan Graham (2020), merupakan salah satu simbol utama bagaimana kondisi kerja dan kehidupan banyak berubah karena teknologi digital. Di dunia, terutama di kota-kota besar, termasuk di Indonesia, ini tampak melalui bagaimana, misalnya, GoJek dan Grab mengubah kehidupan dan kondisi kerja. Namun, jika diteliti lebih lanjut, sektor ini sebetulnya hanya membentuk bagian yang cenderung kecil dari perekonomian di Indonesia, sebagaimana juga terjadi di negara-negara Utara (Srnicsek, 2017). Jelas, lensa fokus penelitian ini tidak bisa dibatasi pada pekerja di sektor teknologi informasi atau pun yang terjadi melalui platform digital saja.

Istilah '*gig*' awalnya merujuk pada sistem *gig* di industri musik dan pentas, perjanjian jangka pendek yang khas ditemui dalam acara musik, di mana "musisi dapat merayakan mendapatkan *gig*, mengabari kawan-kawannya bahwa mereka mendapat *gig* di ruang belakang suatu pub atau lokasi lainnya," tanpa kepastian mengenai *gig* atau pentas berikutnya (Woodcock & Graham, 2020, hal. 16-17). Dengan tampil di *gig* ini, mereka *mungkin mendapat bayaran atau kompensasi* (entah dalam bentuk upah, bagi hasil, ataupun "cuma" dibayar traktiran makanan, minuman, rokok, dsb) dan biaya-biaya seperti transportasi pun sering kali diganti. Namun, *mungkin juga tidak*. Dengan kata lain, tidak ada kepastian.

Woodcock dan Graham (2020) menggarisbawahi bahwa kerja di *gig economy* digital bisa sangat berbeda dari sistem *gig* musik. Perlu juga dicatat bahwa meskipun platform digital *online* memberi potensi menghubungkan berbagai pemberi kerja dan pekerja dari berbagai penjurur, pasar tenaga kerja digital mempunyai hubungan kerja yang asimetris dan pola spasial yang sangat tidak merata. Pemberi kerja maupun pekerja tidak memiliki kesempatan atau kemungkinan yang sama dalam membaca maupun berpartisipasi di dalamnya (Graham & Anwar, 2019). Sebagai contoh, ada banyak kerja tak terlihat yang harus dilakukan di balik otomasi *application programming interface* dan *artificial intelligence* (seperti moderasi media sosial, memperbaiki titik di peta, menerjemahkan *subtitle*, dan sebagainya) melalui infrastruktur platform digital, seperti Amazon MTurk (Gray & Suri 2019). Khususnya dalam konteks negara-negara Selatan di mana akses internet, listrik, dan berbagai utilitas publik sangat tidak merata, diperlukan koordinasi kompleks yang melibatkan alat digital maupun analog; seperti WhatsApp, telepon GSM, bon kertas, motor, beserta tenaga kerjanya seperti kurir, sopir ojol, admin aplikasi pesan/media sosial (WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook) menjadi bagian dari infrastruktur ekonomi platform digital (Jack dkk 2017; Izzati 2020b).

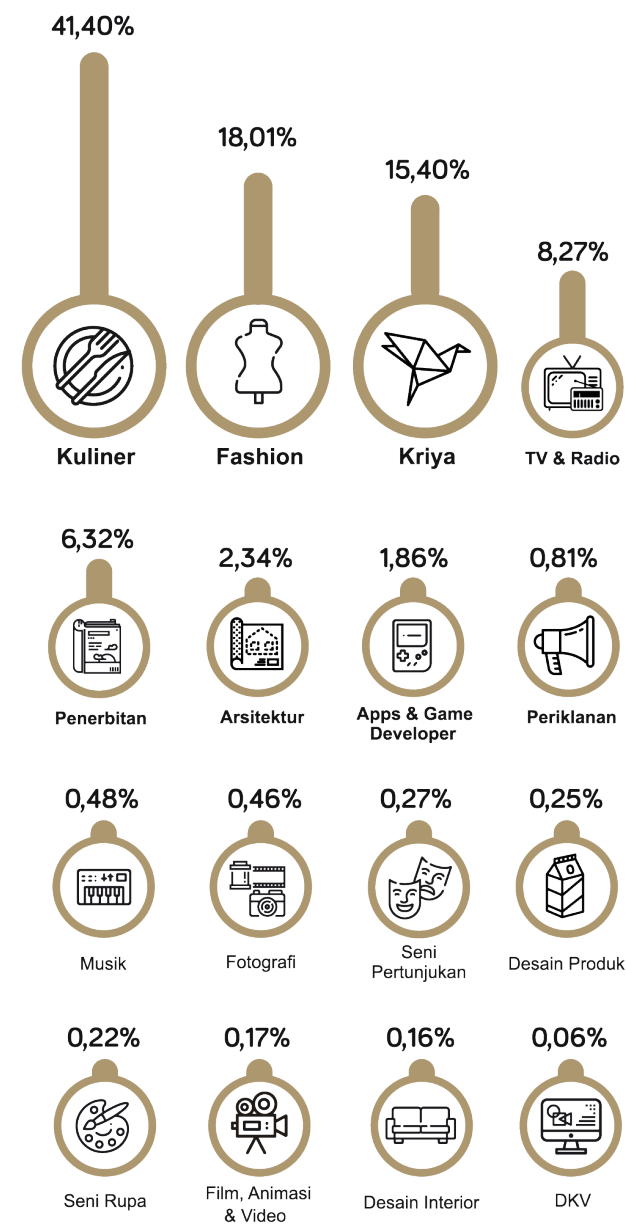
Dengan kata lain, meskipun platform digital dan internet membantu memfasilitasi berbagai kerja, tidak semua pekerjaan kemudian bisa dilakukan sepenuhnya secara *online* dan *remote*. Meski ada kerja yang bisa sepenuhnya dilakukan dari manapun dengan koneksi internet dan perangkat digital (membuat logo, ilustrasi, dsb) melalui platform *crowdsourcing* seperti Amazon MTurk dan Fiverr, beberapa pekerjaan tetap memiliki aspek geografis yang menentukan seperti sopir ojek *online* (ojol), *work on-demand*, atau penyediaan kerja (*delivery* makanan, jasa pijat, kebersihan, dsb) sesuai orderan melalui aplikasi. Untuk kerja-kerja yang terikat geografis pun, kita dapat melihat aspek gender dan perbedaan dari segi nilai, visibilitas, dan kekerasan (Van Doorn 2017), di mana pekerja-pekerja domestik (kebersihan, pijat, dsb) *on-demand* mendapat nilai dan visibilitas yang jauh lebih rendah dibandingkan sopir ojol yang memiliki visibilitas tinggi.

Di luar sektor yang mengandalkan platform digital pun, kita dapat melihat berbagai situasi paralel, seperti *short term arrangement*, ketiadaan kontrak, ketidakpastian dibayar atau tidak, ketergantungan pada pertemanan, tidak adanya jaminan peningkatan jenjang karier, dan sebagainya. Oleh karena itu, istilah *gig economy* di sini tidak terbatas pada kerja-kerja di platform digital saja, tapi juga merujuk ke bagaimana sistem kerja kontrak jangka pendek, atau bahkan tanpa kontrak, makin meningkat dibandingkan sistem kerja tanpa jangka waktu tertentu di era digital. Walhasil, *gig economy* memengaruhi kehidupan sosial manusia dan bahkan masyarakat secara keseluruhan. Situasi ini, sebagaimana telah disinggung sebelumnya, merupakan wujud dari apa yang dinamakan dengan *flexploitation*.

2 . 3

**GAMBARAN EKOSISTEM
INDUSTRI KREATIF
DI INDONESIA**

Berdasarkan statistik yang dirilis BPS bekerja sama dengan Bekraf (2016), dikatakan bahwa persentase kontribusi ekonomi kreatif sebesar 7,66% pada tahun 2010 dan 7,44% pada tahun 2016. Subsektor dengan kontribusi terbesar adalah kuliner (41,40%), fesyen (18,01%), dan kriya (15,40%). Sebaliknya, subsektor-subsektor yang kerap diidentikkan sebagai “kelas kreatif” (Florida, 2002) dan kerja-kerja kognitif, penciptaan makna-nilai budaya (pengetahuan, produksi kultural), atau “kerja-kerja imaterial” (Lazarrato, 1996; Hardt & Negri 2000, 2004)—seperti desain (produk 0,25%, interior 0,16%, DKV 0,06%), pengembangan aplikasi dan game (1,86%), film, animasi dan video (0,17%), musik (0,48%)—hanya memberi kontribusi PDB yang kecil (Gambar 1).



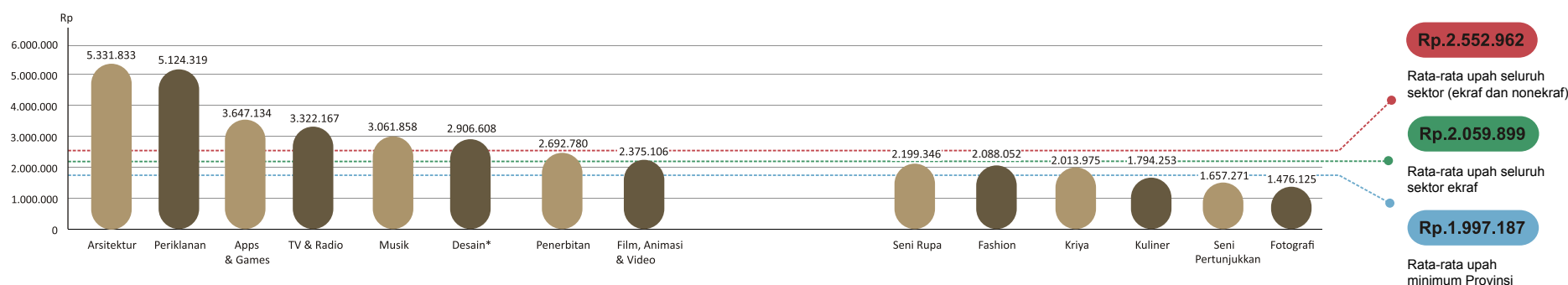
GAMBAR 1.
**KONTRIBUSI PDB
EKONOMI KREATIF
MENURUT SUBSEKTOR**

Sumber: Badan Ekonomi Kreatif dan BPS, 2016.

Oleh karena itu, ada kesenjangan besar antara penggambaran tenaga kerja kreatif yang sebetulnya hanya membentuk kurang dari 7% tenaga kerja di Indonesia—yang sering kali diidentikkan dengan *self-programmable*, kerah putih, *entrepreneurial labour* seperti *app/game developer*, jurnalis, desainer, *product manager*, peneliti. Berdasarkan statistik dari Bekraf & BPS (2016) sendiri, mayoritas tenaga kerja ekonomi kreatif di Indonesia sesungguhnya terdiri atas tenaga kerja kerah biru (93,09%); sementara tenaga kerja kerah putih, “tenaga profesional, teknisi, dan tenaga yang bersangkutan di bidangnya,” hanya mengambil porsi sebesar 6,91%, jumlah yang bahkan tidak sampai setengah dari proporsi tenaga kerja kerah putih Indonesia secara keseluruhan (14,98%).

Perlu dicermati pula bagaimana 93,09% kerah biru yang dimaksud tidak melulu mengarah pada pekerja laki-laki di bidang manufaktur, tapi juga mencakup tenaga kerja berupah rendah yang ada di bidang jasa (tenaga usaha penjualan, tenaga usaha jasa, tenaga produksi) yang acap kali dikerjakan perempuan dan terfeminisasi—status yang juga disebut sebagai “kerah pink” (Freeman, 2000). Komposisi dan feminisasi tenaga kerja ini penting dicatat mengingat proporsi tenaga kerja perempuan di ekonomi kreatif pun jauh lebih tinggi (55,74%) dibandingkan proporsi tenaga kerja perempuan dalam ekonomi nasional Indonesia (38,40%).

GAMBAR 2 . RATA-RATA UPAH TENAGA KERJA EKRAF TIAP SUBSEKTOR



Rata-rata upah di sektor ekraf lebih tinggi dari rata-rata upah minimum provinsi, namun lebih kecil dari rata-rata upah seluruh sektor.

Sumber: Badan Ekonomi Kreatif dan BPS, 2016.

Lonjakan kerja kerah pink telah banyak dibahas secara global seiring perubahan teknologi (McLaughlin, 1983), meningkatnya industri jasa, serta menurun dan menuanya tenaga kerja di bidang agrikultur dan manufaktur (Howe 2017). Kita dapat melihat berbagai paralel di Indonesia: pola pergeseran dari agrikultur dan manufaktur ke jasa ini pun terjadi dalam lima dasawarsa terakhir, dan kerap dianggap sebagai “trajektori normal” industrialisasi di mana mayoritas tenaga kerja akan memasuki sektor jasa.

Namun, menurut Habibi (2014: 24-25), perbedaan utama antara Indonesia dan negara-negara ekonomi maju terletak pada tingginya jumlah pekerja dalam ekonomi informal (63%) dari total tenaga kerja Indonesia di seluruh subsektor, yang dianggap sebagai pekerja rentan: “*These workers mostly involve in the unproductive jobs with precarious condition . . . as relative surplus population*” (Habibi 2014: 26). Meski kebanyakan pekerja rentan terdiri atas wirausaha mikro



dan buruh keluarga atau buruh tak dibayar di bidang agrikultur, pengusaha/pekerja informal di bidang non-agrikultur juga menyumbang angka surplus populasi cadangan yang cukup besar, sekitar sebelas juta, termasuk “pedagang kecil (makanan, pakaian, dsb), produsen pengrajin kecil-kecilan seperti tembikar, kayu, dsb.” — yang mana berkaitan dengan subsektor kuliner, fesyen, dan kriya di industri kreatif.

Perlu dicatat bahwa wacana ekonomi kreatif muncul di Indonesia pada saat yang hampir bersamaan dengan makin ditekankannya kewirausahaan dalam kebijakan nasional, pendidikan, serta dalam wacana Bank Dunia dan International Labour Organization (Naafs, 2012). Walaupun sebetulnya hanya ada sedikit, bahkan tidak ada, bukti bahwa kebijakan-kebijakan kewirausahaan ini meningkatkan prospek kerja ataupun pemasukan (Dhanani, dkk., 2009, p. 80).

Dalam statistik industri kreatif di Indonesia (Bekraf & BPS 2016), misalnya, kita

dapat melihat bahwa subsektor kuliner memberi kontribusi PDB ekonomi kreatif terbesar (41,4%, dengan subsektor terbesar kedua, fesyen, hanya 18,01%, dibandingkan dengan subsektor *game & app developer* yang hanya 1,86%). Begitu pula subsektor kuliner memegang jumlah unit usaha terbesar (5.550.960, subsektor dengan unit usaha terbesar kedua, fesyen, hanya sebesar 1.230.988). Namun, upah rata-rata pekerja di subsektor kuliner berada di spektrum terendah, yakni hanya sebesar Rp1.794.253,00, di bawah rata-rata upah minimum provinsi (Rp1.997.187,00) maupun upah rata-rata seluruh subsektor ekraf (Rp2.059.899,00), nominal yang sebenarnya juga berada di bawah rata-rata upah seluruh sektor di Indonesia (Rp2.552.962,00) (Gambar 2).

Ekosistem ekonomi kreatif di Indonesia juga didominasi oleh usaha mikro dengan 95,59% dari usaha kreatif terdiri atas satu sampai empat orang saja. Sisanya, 3,88% terdiri atas 5-19 orang, 0,46% 20-99 orang, dan hanya 0,07% terdiri dari seratus orang atau lebih. Pun, sebanyak 96,61% perusahaan ekonomi kreatif tidak memiliki badan hukum dan hanya segelintir (3,86%) dari usaha dengan izin khusus dan tidak berbadan usaha ini memiliki laporan keuangan. Ini sesuai dengan gambaran ekonomi Indonesia secara umum, di mana lebih dari 98% terdiri dari usaha mikro dan kecil. Dengan ekosistem seperti ini, sangat sulit bagi kebanyakan usaha kreatif di Indonesia untuk bersaing dengan industri-industri kreatif waralaba multinasional dengan kapasitas produksi massal. Sebagaimana diungkap oleh informan 1.B.,

“Jadi *local brand* ini enggak bisa karena tidak bisa menyaingi *brand-brand* luar yang udah masuk bebas di Indonesia yah, misal *H&M*, *Uniqlo*, gitu gitu yah. Udah cepet banget itu. Jadi *challenge* banget buat mereka. Sementara di sisi lain mereka dituntut untuk lebih kreatif.”

Hanya 0,26% dari usaha ekonomi kreatif di seluruh Indonesia yang menerapkan sistem waralaba dan kebanyakan di antaranya adalah subsektor kuliner (80,01%). Namun, mengingat pendapatan pekerja dari subsektor kuliner masih berada di bawah rata-rata upah minimum, dapat dipertanyakan lagi apakah penerapan sistem waralaba membantu meningkatkan kesejahteraan dan pemasukan pekerjanya.

Hal ini senada dengan yang diungkapkan informan 4.S, yang bekerja sebagai kasir di sebuah kafe di Surabaya. Meskipun kafe tersebut memiliki omzet 120-300 juta per bulan, 4.S menyatakan upahnya hanya sebesar Rp50.000,00/hari dengan jangka waktu bergilir delapan jam per hari, dan ini tidak terhitung jam persiapan buka-tutup serta bersih-bersih yang bisa memakan waktu tambahan satu sampai dua jam. Situasi ini bukan anomali: sudah menjadi rahasia umum bahwa upah pekerja kafe yang kian bermunculan di kota-kota besar berada di bawah standar upah minimum kabupaten/kota, bahkan provinsi. Sudah umum juga mereka bekerja tanpa kontrak, atau dikontrak dengan sistem perhitungan upah harian yang sangat rendah, tanpa jaminan kesehatan ataupun keselamatan kerja. Oleh karena itu, perlu dipertanyakan apakah kebijakan ekonomi kreatif telah atau dapat berperan meningkatkan pemasukan dan kesejahteraan pekerjanya, ataukah sebaliknya: bahwa angka kontribusi besar PDB ekonomi kreatif dibangun di atas pekerja-pekerja yang diupah murah di bawah rata-rata upah minimum provinsi.

Sebagaimana telah disampaikan oleh Qiu dkk (2014), di Barat dan beberapa negara Asia Timur, kontradiksi antara *self-programmable labour* (yang fleksibel, menikmati jenjang pendidikan tinggi, dan berupah besar) dengan *disposable generic labor blue collar* atau kerah pink (yang berupah rendah) menjadi jauh lebih tajam. Sementara di negara-negara Selatan, termasuk India dan Tiongkok, pekerja kerah putih memasuki *middle-rank jobs*: kerja-kerja

yang membutuhkan jenjang pendidikan tinggi, tapi tanpa jaminan kepastian kerja ataupun upah yang seimbang. Di Taiwan, misalnya, istilah “kerah pink” (*fenling*) atau “aristokrasi baru kerah pink” (*fenling xingui*) muncul sekitar satu dasawarsa yang lalu untuk menjelaskan “kelas” baru perempuan-perempuan urban yang berwawasan kosmopolitan dan profesi hip yang sangat sulit didapatkan oleh generasi perempuan sebelumnya (Huang 2008).

Namun, situasi di negara-negara Selatan berbeda. Situasi paralel kerja kerah pink yang berupah murah atau tidak jelas ini dapat kita temukan pada profesi-profesi di media digital yang sekarang tampak trendi dan banyak menjadi aspirasi anak muda, seperti *influencer*, *YouTuber*, dsb (Hempel 2019). Pun, figur yang memiliki modal jaringan sosial dan penguasaan media ini berperan penting dalam membangun nama dan *branding* usaha dalam kancah industri kreatif. Namun, makin banyak penelitian yang menunjukkan bagaimana jumlah pengikut (*followers*) yang mencapai ribuan ataupun jutaan, beserta citra glamor *influencer* media sosial sering kali tidak berimbang dengan pemasukan yang didapat (Duffy, 2017). Begitu pula, dibutuhkan modal antara lain: perangkat digital dan pencahayaan yang mumpuni untuk mengolah media (foto, video, tulisan), serta seperti yang disampaikan juga oleh salah satu informan, “*networking* yang sangat luas, dan lu berani di Jakarta, di episentrumnya” (1.B.), dan jika membidik target pasar internasional, diperlukan penguasaan bahasa Inggris yang bagus (3.S).

Dengan demikian, untuk melampaui masalah-masalah ekosistem kerja industri kreatif ini, diperlukan pembacaan posisi kelas para pekerja yang lebih jelas dan berakar pada situasi ekonomi dan latar belakang historis di Indonesia, serta bagaimana implikasinya terhadap kehidupan sosial pekerja. Beberapa poin yang dapat digarisbawahi antara lain adalah kesenjangan penggambaran tenaga kerja kreatif yang sering kali diidentikkan dengan kerah putih, pekerja

imaterial/kognitif seperti *developer*, jurnalis, desainer, seniman, yang pada kenyataannya hanya kurang dari tujuh persen dari tenaga kerja industri kreatif. Sementara lebih dari sembilan puluh persennya berada di posisi *low pay waged labour blue collar* atau kerah pink sebagai tukang, bagian penjualan, pemasaran, dsb.

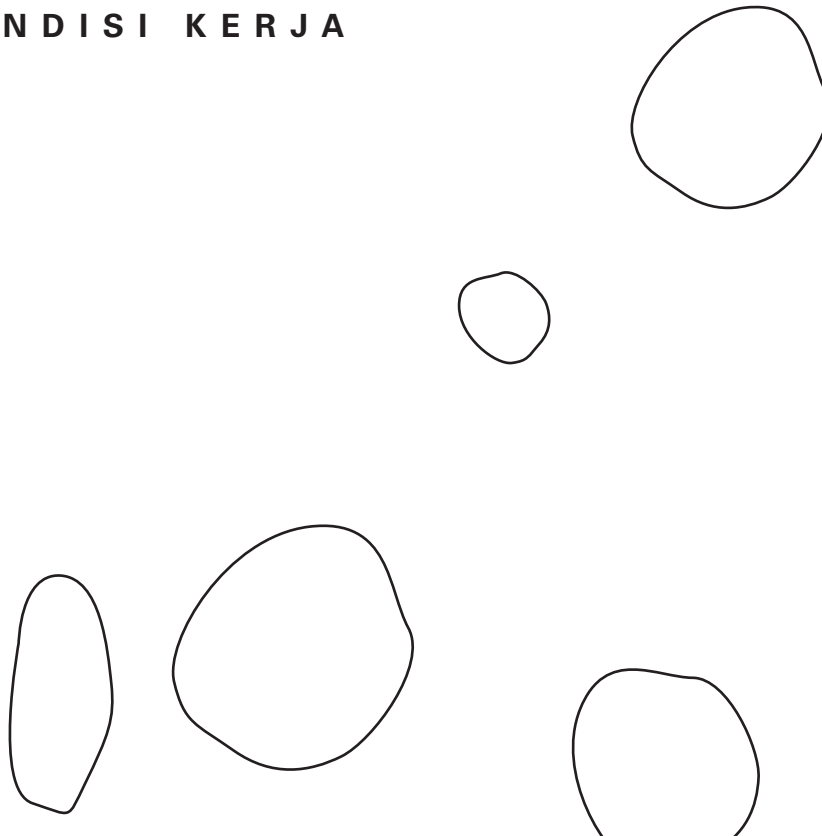
Pekerja-pekerja yang banyak berkutat di bidang produksi kultural seperti artis dan desainer bisa jadi menikmati modal budaya dan sosial yang lebih besar (misalnya melalui akses pendidikan dan informasi yang lebih tinggi, jaringan sosial/media dan visibilitas, dan sebagainya.) dibandingkan tenaga kerja produksi ataupun penjualan di subsektor kuliner, fesyen, dan kriya. Meskipun begitu, yang perlu digarisbawahi adalah mayoritas pekerja di ekonomi kreatif berhadapan dengan kondisi kerja yang serba tidak pasti, upah rendah, tanpa jaminan kesehatan ataupun keselamatan kerja. Permasalahan ini akan dibahas dengan lebih mendalam pada bab-bab berikutnya.



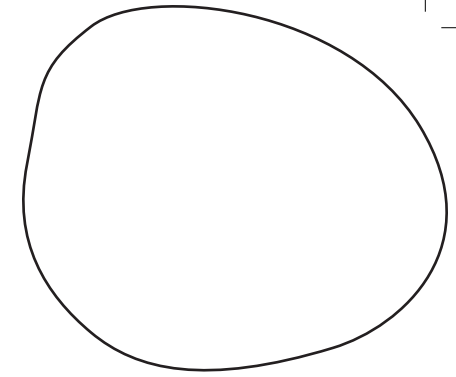
TEMUAN UMUM PENELITIAN:

LATAR BELAKANG
KEHIDUPAN PEKERJA
DAN GAMBARAN
KONDISI KERJA

54



3.1

LATAR
BELAKANG
PEKERJA

Untuk memahami persepsi serta pengalaman kerentanan dan fleksibilitas para pekerja industri kreatif yang menjadi informan dalam penelitian ini, penting untuk terlebih dahulu melihat latar belakang mereka secara garis besar dan bagaimana beberapa aspek tersebut bersinggungan.

Dari enam belas informan, 90% adalah lulusan S1 dan sisanya lulusan SMK dan D3. Meski sebagian besar sarjana dan bukan *fresh graduate*, pada saat wawancara, hanya dua informan yang tinggal mengontrak, dua tinggal di kos-kosan, dan hanya satu yang memiliki rumah sendiri, itu pun pemberian orang tua. Separuh dari informan masih tinggal di rumah orang tua atau milik keluarga. Informan yang tidak memiliki rumah sendiri ini menyatakan belum ingin atau berencana membeli rumah dengan skema pinjaman seperti Kredit Pemilikan Rumah (KPR) karena merasa tidak mampu.

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“Kebutuhan akan rumah *teh* berat, ya. Kalau bisa ngontrak ya kita ngontrak aja dibanding nyicil rumah. Mungkin beli rumah, tapi nanti setelah lebih *settle*. Mungkin umur empat puluhan, lima puluhan, yang udah enggak mungkin ngontrak rumah, pasti udah pengen tinggal di rumah sendiri. Tapi kalau beli rumahnya umur lima puluh, lunasnya kapan ya?”
(1.B.)

Terkait pekerjaan, lebih dari enam puluh persen informan berstatus pekerja mandiri atau lepas yang bisa bekerja dari

rumah, dan sisanya bekerja di kantor atau tempat kerja yang harus didatangi setiap hari kerja. Informan yang berstatus sebagai pekerja lepas di antaranya bergelut di bidang ilustrasi, musik, jurnalistik, IT, kepenulisan dan pekerjaan berbasis *event* (*event organizer, wedding organizing*). Sedangkan informan yang bekerja mandiri—membangun usahanya sendiri di rumah—di bidang kuliner dan menjual hasil kerja melalui Toko Daring berbasis Media Sosial (TDMS).

Sebanyak 75% informan mengatakan harus mengambil beberapa pekerjaan sekaligus—beberapa menyebutnya kerja serabutan—karena satu pekerjaan saja sering kali tidak mencukupi kebutuhan hidup. Satu contoh, seorang informan yang bekerja sebagai *wedding decorator* lepas juga mengambil pekerjaan sebagai konsultan bisnis sepatu dan *event organizer* untuk lokakarya. Selain mencari uang tambahan dengan bekerja untuk orang lain, ada pula yang bersiasat dengan memproduksi mandiri kecil-kecilan.

“Bukan buka warung, bikin kue [dan] *anter-anternang* (antar-antarkan ke) warung. Dulu kalau di tempat kerja lamaku itu kan sempet masuk jam sembilan. *Dadi* (jadi) pagi itu nganter-nganter kue *disek* (dulu), *sampe akhir’e yo engkok jam kerjo yo wis budal kerjo* (akhirnya ya nanti jam kerja berangkat kerja).” (2.S.)

Dengan status kerja yang kebanyakan mandiri atau lepas ini, tidak mengherankan jika lebih dari 60% informan juga tidak memiliki asuransi kesehatan yang biasanya diberikan oleh pemberi kerja.

Data penting lain dalam riset ini adalah bagaimana latar belakang keluarga (*family capital*) memengaruhi perspektif, pilihan, maupun pengalaman para informan terkait kondisi kerja yang fleksibel maupun rentan. Sekitar 25% informan datang dari keluarga yang tidak terlalu mapan, dalam arti memiliki tanggungan keluarga yang harus dipenuhi.

Informan yang datang dari keluarga yang cukup mapan lebih banyak, lebih dari 50%. Mapan di sini adalah kondisi di mana para informan mengaku tidak memiliki tanggungan keluarga dan bahkan mayoritas mendapatkan akses ke modal, seperti menumpang di rumah atau dipinjamkan rumah.

Latar belakang keluarga yang mapan signifikan dalam memengaruhi pilihan untuk terjun di bidang pekerjaan yang serba tidak pasti, misalnya seni, musik, atau pekerjaan lepas pada umumnya. Keputusan ini tak jarang berpotensi menjadi yang Lorey (2015) sebut dengan *self-precarization*, perentanan diri yang dinormalisasi dan diinternalisasi sebagai tanggung jawab individu yang dapat berujung pada *social downward mobility* alias “turun kelas”.

“Aku mendefinisikan diriku dari penghasilan sekarang ya menengah ke bawah. Ini *mah* bisa seenak (ini) karena sumbangan orang tua. Orang tuaku sih kelas atas.” (1.B)

Selain *family capital*, hampir separuh dari informan mengaku cukup bergantung pada modal sosial lain untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan seperti pertemanan, kenalan, jejaring, dan komunitas. Dalam beberapa kasus, para informan juga menjelaskan bagaimana jejaring antara pemberi kerja dengan pekerja lepas yang cenderung sempit bisa berfungsi sebagai jaring pengaman karena selalu ada yang membutuhkan jasa atau produknya. Di sisi lain, dalam rangka merawat modal sosial jejaring ini, mereka juga kerap membanting harga jasa alias merentankan diri.

Selain akses langsung, kelebihan lain dari modal sosial ini adalah terbukanya akses terhadap publikasi di media sosial milik jaringan. Akses ini berpengaruh terhadap kesempatan kerja beberapa informan, terutama yang memang menggunakan media sosial sebagai platform untuk mempertunjukkan karya atau produk.

3 . 2

KONDISI KERJA

Setelah penjelasan umum tentang latar belakang para informan, di bagian ini kami akan menjabarkan lebih detail tentang kondisi kerja para informan ke dalam lima bagian. *Pertama*, kontrak kerja kasual; *kedua*, ketiadaan jaminan sosial, asuransi kesehatan dan ongkos untuk menanggung biaya-biaya tak terlihat/*hidden costs*; *ketiga*, jam kerja, beban kerja, dan eksploitasi di tempat kerja; *keempat*, persoalan upah dan upah murah; dan *kelima*, ketidakpastian karier dan keinginan untuk kepastian.

3 . 2 . 1

KONTRAK KERJA KASUAL

“Terakhir dapat kerjaan di-*hire* lewat Whatsapp dari teman,” ungkap seorang penulis dari Bandung. Salah satu kondisi kerja paling mencolok yang menimpa informan ini dan para informan lain memang ketiadaan kontrak kerja. Para informan yang berstatus pekerja lepas (lebih dari 60%) mengaku tidak memiliki perjanjian kerja tertulis dengan pemberi kerja. Menurut mereka hal ini biasanya terjadi karena pekerjaannya memang kasual atau berbasis pada pertemanan dan kepercayaan.

Beberapa informan berstatus sebagai pekerja mandiri sehingga memang tidak butuh kontrak bagi dirinya. Lainnya tidak diberikan kontrak meskipun statusnya pekerja tetap. Apabila ada kontrak pun, beberapa informan mengaku isi perjanjian mudah dilanggar oleh pemberi kerja. Misalnya, jam kerja yang lebih panjang dari perjanjian, upah yang telat dibayar, beban kerja lebih dari semestinya, dan lain-lain.

“Misal, gua udah bilang maksimal *editing* itu tiga kali. Di luar itu, ya, harus ada tambahan biaya. Tapi ya kebanyakan enggak peduli. [Setelah tiga kali edit, dijawab:] ‘Masak sih udah tiga kali?’ Ah pura-pura lupa.” (5.B)

Lebih dari separuh informan memilih bertahan bekerja tanpa kontrak agar tetap memiliki akses terhadap pemasukan. Meski ada kesadaran bahwa ketiadaan kontrak kerja yang jelas memberi ruang yang lebih besar pada



eksploitasi di tempat kerja, para informan cenderung menormalisasi dan menerima kerentanan ini dengan harapan dapat meningkatkan karier di bidang yang sedang mereka geluti.

Dibaca menggunakan konsep Lorey (2015), perentanan diri seperti ini bertransformasi menjadi sebuah *governance* di bawah ekonomi neoliberalisme. Lebih dari itu, apa yang dialami para informan adalah dampak dari pasar tenaga kerja fleksibel yang berkembang semenjak akhir tahun 1970-an (Vosko 2000; Albo 2010). Dalam era ini, industri kebudayaan ikut bergeser dari produksi yang bergantung pada kondisi kerja yang tetap dan pasti ke bentuk-bentuk yang lebih rentan. Mulai dari kerja paruh waktu, temporer, kasual, berbasis kontrak dan lepas dengan jam kerja panjang, tanpa jaminan kesehatan maupun sosial, berupah rendah dan tidak ada akses berserikat (Cohen, 2012).

3 . 2 . 2

KETIADAAN JAMINAN SOSIAL, ASURANSI KESEHATAN, DAN *HIDDEN COSTS*

Sebanyak 62,5% informan menyatakan tidak memiliki jaminan kesehatan seperti BPJS atau asuransi kesehatan lain dari pemberi kerja. Sementara salah seorang informan yang mendapatkan fasilitas asuransi kesehatan bekerja sebagai HRD di sebuah *agency* yang cukup mapan di Jakarta dan termasuk salah satu yang paling stabil pemasukannya di antara informan lain yang kami wawancarai.

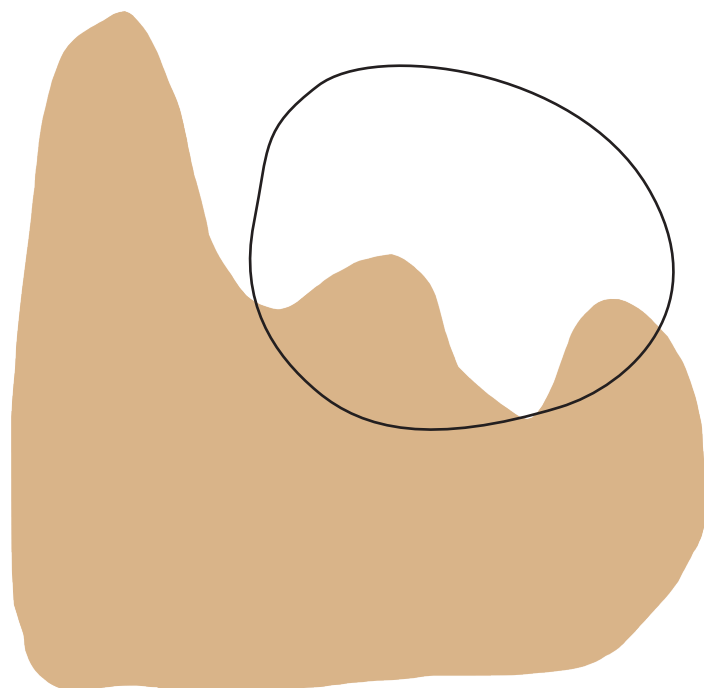
Dari sejumlah informan yang tidak memiliki asuransi, ada yang berstatus sebagai pekerja lepas dan ada juga yang bekerja untuk kantor atau institusi.

“Dari pengalaman gua, selama kerja enggak ada yang ditanggung asuransinya. Masing-masing menanggung asuransinya sendiri.” (2.J)

“Tidak ada jaminan sosial apa pun. Sama sekali. Gua semua yang tanggung. Jadi mereka (pemberi kerja) pokoknya cuma tahu bayarnya segitu, udah, bulet.” (5.B)

Sama seperti soal kontrak kerja, bentuk lain dari prekarisasi diri ini pada akhirnya dilumrahkan oleh para pekerja dan dianggap memang tanggung jawab pribadi.

“Menurutku untuk sekarang lebih ke jaga kesehatan sendiri aja. Lu mau punya asuransi juga, biaya



kesehatan lu berapa yang dibayarin asuransi berapa. Iya, kan?” (2.B)

Beberapa informan tampak tidak mempercayai BPJS dan memilih untuk tidak mempunyai asuransi kesehatan sama sekali, selain karena tidak mampu membayar asuransi swasta. Menjaga kesehatan pribadi, lagi-lagi, menjadi satu-satunya siasat mengatasi ketiadaan jaring pengaman sosial.

Selain itu, bentuk lain dari prekarisasi diri adalah menanggung sendiri ongkos untuk biaya-biaya tak tampak. Ini dialami kebanyakan dari informan. Untuk pekerja lepas, misalnya, mereka biasanya tidak memasukkan biaya alat produksi ke dalam upah atau invoice (tagihan pembayaran).

“Laptop, terus alat tulis kertas kadang-kadang masih buat coret-corek, internet, *hard disk*, gua sendiri semua yang menyediakan.” (5.B.)

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“[*Coworking space*] aku biaya sendiri. Karena aku juga merasa bahwa sebenarnya, ya ampun, sangat tidak bertanggung jawab mungkin di proyek musik ini [kalau tidak membiayai ruang untuk kerjanya] karena aku lebih banyak waktu untuk *project* lain.” (4.S.)

Mereka yang menanggung sendiri biaya tersebut mendapat upah yang tidak sepadan dengan beban kerja.



3 . 2 . 3

JAM KERJA, BEBAN KERJA, DAN EKSPLOITASI DI TEMPAT KERJA

Kebanyakan dari informan yang berstatus pekerja lepas memiliki waktu kerja yang fleksibel. Mereka bisa menyesuaikan jam kerja dengan situasi, misalnya membaginya jadi beberapa *shift* apabila bekerja dari rumah. Di luar itu mereka bisa mengerjakan hal lain. Otonomi relatif seperti ini biasanya menjadi salah satu alasan seseorang memilih status kerja lepas dan menghindari relasi kerja yang kaku (Cohen, 2012).

Meskipun bekerja secara lepas sering dianggap kesempatan untuk meraih kebebasan (Pink, 2001), kondisi kerja seperti ini juga ideal untuk melanggengkan relasi kerja yang eksploitatif. Cukup banyak informan yang merasa kondisi kerja seperti ini memaksa mereka bekerja di luar jam wajar. Ini dialami informan pekerja IT.

“Gua ngetes *website*, ada kerentanan nggak kira-kira. Itu gua diminta ngerjainnya jam dua sampai jam tiga dini hari. [karena] itu kan jam-jam orang enggak mengakses web [sehingga cocok untuk tes kerentanan web].” (5.J.)

Juga pekerja berbasis *event* (1.B; 4.S) yang harus bekerja di akhir pekan, sampai subuh, kurang tidur, dan banyak menghabiskan waktu di jalan.

“Bisa tiga sampai empat hari aku enggak tidur. Tidur paling cuma empat sampai lima jam sehari. Itu juga enggak bisa nyambung, dua jam pagi terus di tengah-tengah, *on the way*

perjalanan aku tidur sejam, terus pulanginya dua jam. Terus besok paginya bangun lagi.” (1.B.)

“Kalau *event* hitungannya 24 jam. Sama seperti di proyek musikku. Kalau pas manggung aku bisa kerja 24 jam.” (4.S.)

Hampir semua pekerja lepas dan mandiri juga tidak memiliki jatah cuti, kecuali dengan mengaturnya sendiri, misalnya dengan menyelesaikan pekerjaan yang seharusnya rampung dua hari dalam satu hari. Informan lain, pekerja kantor dan kasir restoran, diberikan jatah cuti dengan jumlah dan ketentuan yang berbeda. Informan yang bekerja sebagai kasir di restoran kondisi kerjanya lebih rentan dengan jatah cuti yang lebih sedikit, kaku, dan bahkan didenda jika tidak taat.

“Karena kita dihitung kalau tidak masuk. Satu hari lima puluh ribu, bisa dibayangkan satu minggu ada tujuh hari, sekian yang dipotong. Kita pas lebaran masuk itu kita cuman dapet ekstra uang seratus ribu aja satu hari itu. Tapi ketika kita libur, kita dipotongnya berkali lipatnya. Jadi, aku pernah sendiri [ada] pengalaman, waktu itu aku enggak masuk di hari Sabtu karena ada emang keperluan keluarga, ya... dipotong Rp200.000,00. Jadinya aku waktu itu minta ganti ke keluargaku. Kalau orang sakit, apalagi kalau misalkan itu diare atau dia ada demam yang bener-bener berdiri aja susah begitu, ya enggak ada toleransi untuk itu, jadi tetap dipotong.” (3.S.)

Mengingat kebanyakan tidak memiliki kontrak kerja, para informan perempuan pekerja lepas juga tidak memiliki jatah cuti haid yang pasti. Meskipun ada fleksibilitas untuk menentukan waktu kerja, kondisi kerja yang tidak memungkinkan—seperti pekerjaan berbasis *event* atau pekerjaan dengan tenggat yang tidak manusiawi—membuat mereka tidak bisa menyediakan cuti haid untuk diri sendiri. Para pekerja lepas perempuan akhirnya cenderung memilih merentankan diri dengan memaksakan bekerja. Akhirnya

mereka pun berada di posisi yang lebih rentan ketimbang pekerja lain.

Ada pula para informan bercerita tentang lembur yang tidak dibayar. Kondisi kerja ini banyak terjadi di kalangan pekerja *food and beverages* (F&B).

“Makanan yang sudah diolah atau yang belum diolah benar-benar harus dihitung di dua *freezer* besar. Kadang [kerja menghitung] biasa selesai sampai jam tiga atau setengah tiga [pagi], dan kami enggak dihitung lembur sama sekali. Pulangnya jam empat subuh.” (3.S.)

Informan ini pernah membahasnya, tapi tak mendapatkan respons yang memadai. “Bilangnya kayak ‘totalitas’ aja gitu.” Seperti yang kami kutip di bagian awal buku ini, ia juga menyatakan, “Jadi bisa dianggap kalau dulu kami bener-bener kayak kerja rodi, menghabiskan sebegitu banyak waktu yang enggak dihargai.”

3 . 2 . 4

P E R S O A L A N U P A H M U R A H

Lebih dari lima puluh persen informan merasa tidak mendapatkan upah yang layak. Banyak yang pemasukannya bahkan di bawah upah minimum provinsi, kecuali informan yang bekerja sebagai editor video dengan pengalaman kerja lebih dari sepuluh tahun, pekerja IT, *freelance journalist*, dan staf HRD pada *agency* di Jakarta. Pemasukan informan yang rata-rata latar belakang pendidikan D3 dan S1 ini berada di kisaran Rp500.000,00-Rp3.500.000,00 per bulan.

"Kemaren cuma dapat sekitar empat ratus ribu. Padahal kalau gajiku kan 1,7 juta [rupiah] ya, *full*-nya. Ada yang bagian kasir juga dan itu kebanyakan 2,5 juta ke atas. Bahkan untuk [restoran lain] pun itu ngasih UMR semua. Kami pernah sempat ngobrol-ngobrol, buka-buka cerita gitu. Mungkin enggak semua, tapi itu memang sudah UMR." (3.S.)

Selain nominal upah yang tidak sepadan, banyak juga informan yang mengeluh soal pembayaran yang tidak tepat waktu atau pencairan *invoice* yang bermasalah.

"Kalau [dapat] kerjaan misalnya dari suatu kantor, saya suka nanya: ini [pembayaran] cairnya kapan? Beres kerja langsung cair atau enggak? Paling cepat tiga bulan. Enggak deh. Kadang suka bingung, kenapa lama banget. Iya, bingung, kan kalau beli makan kita enggak bisa bilang, 'mas [bayarnya] tiga bulan lagi ya [tertawa]!" (3.B.)

Dalam kondisi yang serba terhimpit, para pekerja F&B juga sering kali terjerat utang ke pinjaman online atau pemilik usaha. Ditambah dengan penahanan ijazah, mereka semakin tidak punya opsi untuk keluar dari pekerjaan. Mereka terbelenggu di tempat kerjanya.

Salah satu kasus yang dialami informan penulis asal Bandung menunjukkan bagaimana kesejahteraan para pekerja juga dipengaruhi alur kerja. Alur kerja yang tidak sehat membuat hak-hak pekerja terpotong. Kondisi kerja semakin rentan karena tidak adanya perjanjian yang bisa melindungi pekerja.

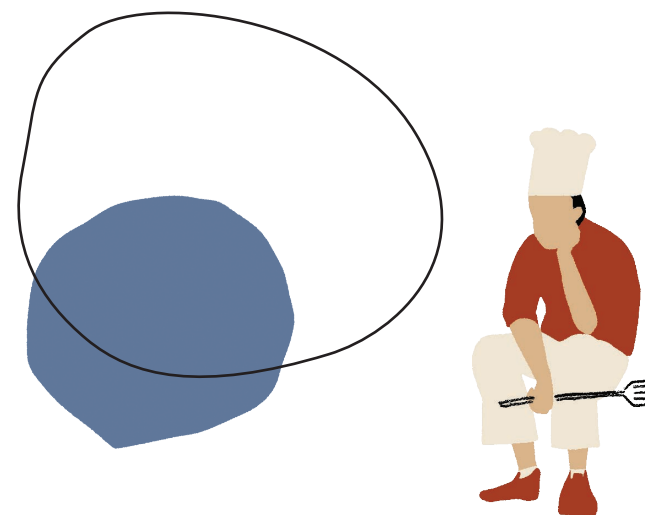
"Yang terakhir itu gua awalnya minta [upah] per jam. Cuma dia mohon-mohon minta per halaman, [dengan alasan] sekarang kondisi lagi susah segala macam. Dia minta satu halaman itu empat puluh ribu. Gua empat puluh ribu itu per jam, empat puluh ribu sampai

lima puluh ribu. Kalo per jam itu harusnya kali dua (halaman), sekitar seratus ribu. Satu setengah bulan kerja dibayar 1,4 juta rupiah, salah satu kendalanya karena *feedback* lama." (5.B.)

Kami juga menemukan bagaimana pandemi Covid-19 memperparah kerentanan para pekerja karena jumlah pemasukan semakin tidak pasti atau bahkan menurun secara signifikan. Fenomena ini tidak hanya berdampak pada informan dalam riset ini, tapi juga dalam skala yang lebih besar jika kita melihat munculnya inisiatif *peer-to-peer wealth distribution* seperti Bagirata (bagirata.id).

"Dulu sebelum pandemi 3-3,5 juta lah per bulan. Kalau saat pandemi bisa 1-1,5 juta. Itu juga enggak tentu, kalau enggak ada *gawe* ya bisa lima ratus ribuan [tertawa]!" (4.B)

"Dua bulan enggak dibayar, baru bulan ini tadi dibayar. Ada beberapa *project* yang nyendat, dan untung cadangan [uang] di kantor nutup [biaya], jadi akhirnya [upah] tetap kebayar." (5.S.)



3 . 2 . 5

KETIADAAN KEPASTIAN KARIER

Dengan semua situasi yang tadi sudah dijabarkan, tidak heran jika para informan ragu apakah bidang pekerjaan yang digelutinya memiliki kepastian karier.

“Gua juga belum tahu apakah bidang penulisan ini, yang sebenarnya sangat gua cintai ini dari kecil, bisa menopang hidup seterusnya. Gua jadi enggak yakin banget sekarang kalau ngeliat gambaran kayak gini. Dan itu makin jadi pembenaran buat keluarga besar nyokap [untuk mengatakan:] ‘tuh, kan, yang bener dikit dong nyari kerja!’” (5.B.)

Keinginan untuk berkeluarga atau kebutuhan menanggung keluarga membuat beberapa membutuhkan pemasukan yang lebih stabil dan jaring pengaman yang lebih pasti. Karena itu tidak didapatkan di pekerjaan yang sekarang, informan menyatakan bulat akan beralih profesi suatu saat. Jika ada kesempatan, tentu saja.

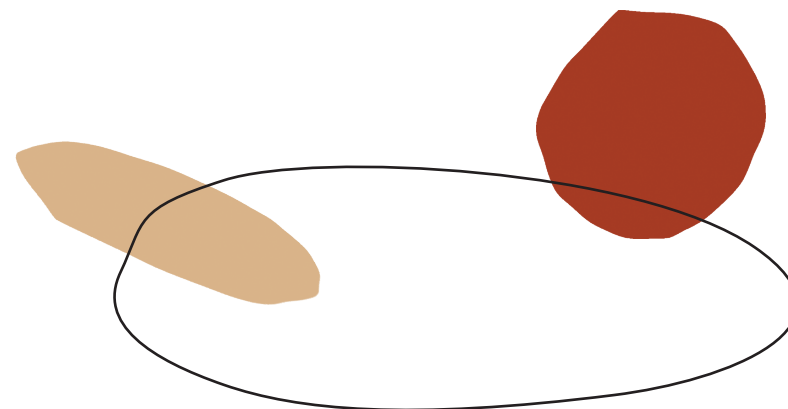
“Walaupun dari dulu sampai sekarang terbiasa *freelance*, akhir-akhir ini, karena memikirkan ada tanggungan nanti, [tertawa] mungkin enggak apa-apa deh di kantor lagi [tertawa]. Enggak kebayang aja kebutuhan nanti akan sebesar apa, apa aja yang harus dipenuhi. Kalau sekarang ini kan masih bisa kayak, yaudahlah makannya nanti malam aja deh [tertawa]. Enggak bisa begitu dong kalau udah berkeluarga.” (3.B.)

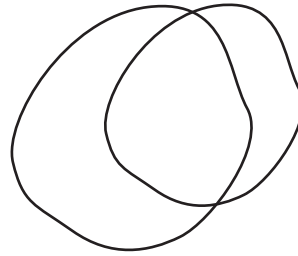
“Idealnya, mungkin kerja kantoran. Kalau untuk menjadikan penghasilan utama, kerja *freelance* ini enggak. Tapi untuk jadi tambahan *on the weekend*, *why not?*” (1.B.)

Sebetulnya, berdasarkan cerita para informan, fleksibilitas waktu bukan masalah. Mereka justru menganggap itu bentuk kebebasan. Akan tetapi, apabila yang fleksibel adalah pendapatannya, maka itu menjadi masalah yang signifikan.

“Fleksibilitas yang dipengin, ya, pendapatan yang stabil minimal. Pendapatan yang menentu, tiap bulan gajiku 3-5 juta, enggak jauh dari situlah. Atau sepuluh juta [tertawa] ya minimal. Jadi kita kerja fleksibel, tapi pendapatan per bulan stabil.” (4.B.)

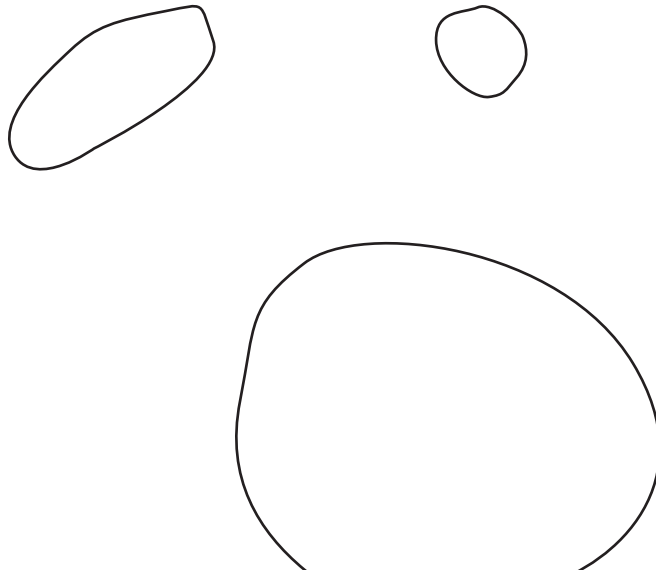
Demikianlah gambaran umum dari pengalaman dan pemaknaan atas fleksibilitas dan kerentanan para informan penelitian. Di Bab 4, kami akan memaparkan lebih mendalam mengenai fleksibilitas, kerentanan, hingga perentanan diri yang dialami oleh para informan sebagai pekerja “kreatif” di Indonesia hari ini.





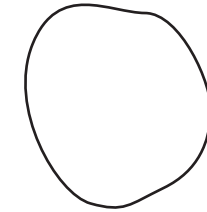
PENGALAMAN SOAL FLEKSIBILITAS DAN KERENTANAN :

TAK ADA WAKTU SANTAI,
KETIDAKPASTIAN
PEKERJAAN,
DAN PENDAPATAN
DITANGGUNG SENDIRIAN



4 . 1

KERJA FLEKSIBEL ?



Jika ada satu kata yang paling merepresentasikan para pekerja di industri kreatif, itu adalah fleksibilitas. Ia menjadi ciri khas sekaligus pembeda antara pekerja di sektor ini dengan di sektor-sektor lain. Fleksibilitas jadi “kata ajaib untuk menyelesaikan beragam masalah baik di organisasi industri atau pemerintahan” (Kickert, 1984/1985).

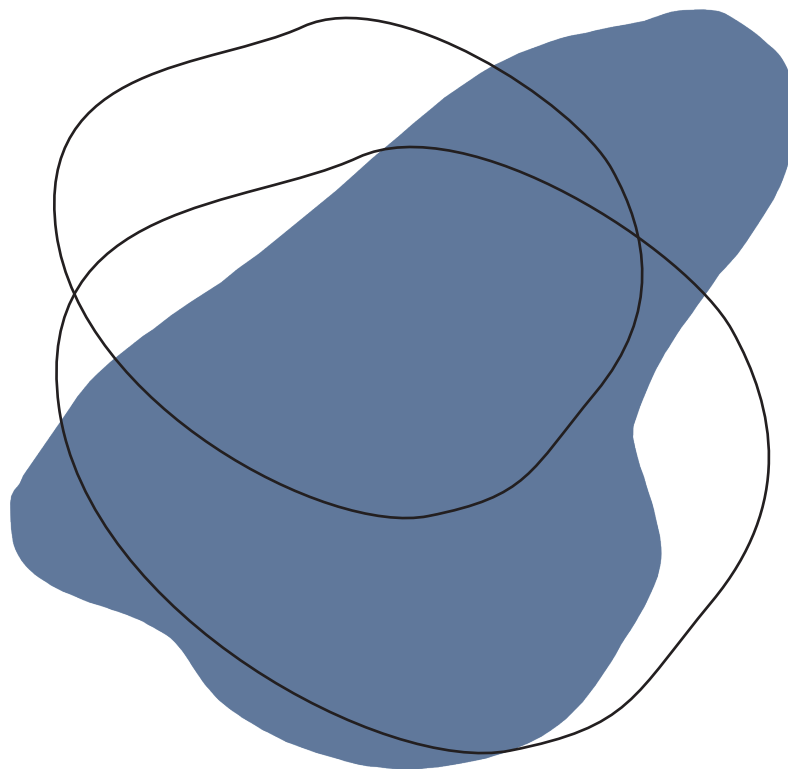
Fleksibilitas kerap dikaitkan dengan situasi ketika pekerja mampu mengontrol kapan, di mana, dan seberapa banyak mereka bekerja (Leslie, dkk., 2012). Para ilmuwan menyebut ini sebagai praktik kerja fleksibel (*flexible work practices*/FWP) yang pertama kali dicetuskan manajemen konsultan asal Jerman, Christel Kammerer, pada 1960, dan dipraktikkan pula di negara yang sama tujuh tahun kemudian. Ia kontras dengan pekerja formal yang memiliki jam, tempat, dan beban kerja yang jelas—meski semua ini kerap kali dilanggar oleh pemberi kerja.

Memasuki tahun 1970-an, bersamaan dengan munculnya neoliberalisme, FWP telah dipraktikkan di banyak tempat termasuk Amerika Serikat. Prevalensi FWP meningkat secara dramatis dalam beberapa tahun terakhir (Ibid.). Di Inggris, sejak 2014, seorang pekerja penuh waktu bahkan bisa mengajukan jam kerja fleksibel kepada kantornya.

Popularitas FWP ditopang oleh beberapa faktor. Salah satunya klaim bahwa ia “memberikan situasi saling menguntungkan bagi pekerja dan organisasi” (Ibid.).

Di satu sisi, ia disebut meningkatkan kepuasan kerja dan menurunkan tingkat stres para pekerja. Di sisi lain menguntungkan bagi perusahaan karena yang dipekerjakan benar-benar talenta terbaik sebab mekanisme FWP memfasilitasi mereka. Lewat FWP, para pekerja “dibebaskan dari kakunya karier permanen dan diberikan kesempatan untuk menjual barang dan jasa apa pun yang mungkin ditawarkan” (Srnicek, 2016).

Namun, apa kenyataannya begitu?



4 . 2

TAK ADA WAKTU SANTAI, YANG EKSTIS HANYA KERJA, KERJA , KERJA

Sebagian besar informan memaknai fleksibilitas dari sisi ruang dan waktu. Mereka mengartikan fleksibilitas sebagai kebebasan untuk bekerja di manapun dan kapanpun. Salah satunya seperti yang dinyatakan oleh informan 5.J. Menurutnya, pekerja fleksibel adalah mereka yang “tidak terikat jam kerja” alias tidak punya waktu kerja yang jelas. Hal serupa dikatakan informan 1.S, “Fleksibilitas itu sebenarnya dari waktu,” dan “*freelance* itu maksudnya enggak ada jam.”

Secara tidak langsung, mereka membenturkan ciri-ciri ini dengan pekerja kantor. Informan 5.B memberikan ilustrasi: sementara pekerja kantor harus kerja mulai jam sembilan pagi, *freelancer* bisa lebih siang. *Freelancer* bisa saja istirahat dua jam atau bahkan mungkin lebih, sementara pekerja biasa umumnya satu jam sebab sudah ada peraturan perusahaan. Pekerja lepas tak terkait dengan peraturan perusahaan meski dia dipekerjakan karena target yang diberikan kepada mereka satu-satunya hanyalah hasil dari pekerjaan. “Cuma kayak nuker-nuker waktu aja [dengan pekerja kantor],” katanya.

Fleksibilitas ruang dan waktu itu yang sedikit banyak jadi salah satu pertimbangan informan untuk memilih karier sebagai pekerja fleksibel, alih-alih yang formal. Mereka dapat bekerja di mana pun, termasuk di rumah. Ketika infrastruktur transportasi kurang memadai seperti di kota-kota besar di Indonesia, pilihan ini tampak makin rasional. Informan 5.B misalnya, mengaku dengan bekerja seperti ini ia terbebas karena “enggak perlu bermacam-macet di jalan.”

Kecenderungan ini terjadi di mana-mana. Beberapa penelitian di Inggris (Burnford, 2019) menyebutkan betapa menariknya sistem kerja ini bagi kebanyakan orang. Ada penelitian yang menyebut 92% milenial memprioritaskan mencari kerja yang sifatnya fleksibel; 80% perempuan dan 52% laki-laki ingin di pekerjaan mereka yang selanjutnya fleksibel; 70% pekerja merasa bahwa kerja fleksibel lebih menarik dan 30% lebih memilih kerja fleksibel alih-alih naik gaji; lalu, sebagian besar orang berusia lima puluh tahun ingin memasuki masa pensiun dengan perlahan mengurangi jam kerja dan bekerja secara fleksibel.

Namun, di balik segala citra positif—tidak terikat jam kerja, lokasi, dan birokrasi kantor—ada biaya besar yang harus ditanggung para pekerja. Justru karena fleksibel, jam kerja mereka panjang. Sebagian besar responden mengatakan jam kerja mereka melebihi ketentuan, atau setidaknya, pernah mengalami itu.

Informan 1.B, seorang *freelancer wedding decorator*, mengaku “tiap *weekend* kerja.” “Jadi, kalau sudah Jumat, Sabtu, Minggu, Senin, sudah mau mati karena capek fisik banget.” Ia juga mengatakan, “bisa tiga sampai empat hari enggak tidur, paling cuma empat sampai lima jam sehari—dua jam pagi terus di tengah-tengah, tidur sejam, pulanginya dua jam.” Informan 4.S mengatakan, “hampir enggak ada *day off*. Adapun dipakai untuk *networking*”—yang menurutnya sangat penting bagi seorang pekerja lepas.

Informan 3.S mengatakan ia bekerja 48 jam dalam sepekan—ketika Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan menyebutkan maksimal jam kerja hanya empat puluh jam per pekan. Hari raya pun tidak libur. Ia bahkan mengatakan seperti “kerja rodi” dan “menghabiskan sebegitu banyak waktu yang enggak dihargai.” Lalu, informan 3.B mengaku bisa “*start* [kerja] dari jam sembilan ke jam sepuluh malam”—yang artinya mencurahkan waktu kerja tiga belas jam dalam satu hari.

Informan 5.S, seorang pekerja IT, mengatakan “sudah enggak terhitung” berapa banyak ia menghabiskan Sabtu dan Minggu untuk “mengurusi *bug*”.

Informan 5.S mengatakan sebab ia harus bekerja dalam durasi panjang adalah beberapa klien “memang enggak tahu waktu” dengan contoh, “kadang jam sepuluh [malam] minta rapat, bahkan Minggu minta rapat.” Ia juga bilang klien kerap kali memberikan tenggat yang keterlaluhan. “[Memerintahkan pekerjaan] Sabtu, Senin harus sudah selesai.” Informan 5.B juga mengatakan kerap dihadapkan dengan “*deadline* [yang] terlalu enggak *make sense*”.

Meski tidak masuk akal, banyak dari informan tetap melakukan apa yang diperintahkan. Ini sebenarnya membuktikan satu hal yang lumrah dan diketahui semua orang: bahwa pekerja dan pemberi kerja tidak dalam posisi setara. Ketimpangan di antara keduanya multidimensi, mulai dari pengusaha memiliki lebih banyak uang dan kapital punya daya tawar lebih kuat, hingga biasanya berstatus sosial lebih tinggi (Bagchi, 2009).

Memang ada informan yang jam kerjanya di bawah jam kerja normal, seperti informan 4.B—tujuh jam per hari dan informan 5.B, masih berkuliah, “empat sampai lima jam per hari, 25-27 jam per minggu.” Akan tetapi, ini hanya pengecualian. Faktanya jam kerja panjang terjadi di mana-mana. Freelancermap.com, salah satu situs pekerja lepas, menyebut pada 2017 lalu jumlah rata-rata jam kerja yang dihabiskan oleh 1.386 peserta survei setiap pekan mencapai 47 jam. Seperempatnya bekerja lebih dari lima puluh jam dan sekitar tujuh persen bahkan bekerja lebih dari enam puluh jam. Hanya seperempat yang menghabiskan waktu kerja kurang dari empat puluh jam per minggu atau delapan jam per hari. Survei yang sama pada 2019 hanya sedikit lebih baik. Sebanyak 57% dari 1.645 pekerja lepas mengaku bekerja lebih dari empat puluh jam per minggu.

Menurut beberapa informan, jam kerja panjang mereka juga disebabkan oleh ketiadaan kontrak yang jelas. Kontrak antara pemberi dan penerima kerja umumnya hanya disampaikan secara lisan atau melalui pesan instan yang secara legal atau dari sisi hukum tidak kuat. “Itu yang *miss* dari dulu, dari awal mulai nyemplung, membahas masalah legal,” kata informan 3.B. Sementara informan 4.B bilang umumnya kerja-kerja lepas seperti ini “sesuai ajakan,” “enggak ngirim CV,” dan memang “enggak ada kontrak.” Riset SINDIKASI di tiga kota pada 2019 lalu menemukan 59% responden bekerja tanpa perjanjian kerja yang jelas (SINDIKASI, 2019).

Ketiadaan kontrak juga membuat pekerja fleksibel jadi bagian dari pekerja informal atau mengalami informalisasi. Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan menyebut pekerja informal mengacu pada “orang yang bekerja tanpa relasi kerja, yang berarti tidak ada perjanjian yang mengatur elemen-elemen kerja, upah, dan kekuasaan.” Individu yang berada di sektor informal dicirikan beroperasi dalam sebuah ruang antara legalitas dan ilegalitas, mematuhi beberapa aturan, namun tidak dengan aturan lain (International Labour Organization, 2010).

Selain absennya kontrak, aspek lain yang turut berkontribusi terhadap jam kerja panjang atau setidaknya jam kerja tak menentu adalah teknologi. Kemajuan teknologi membuat para pekerja bisa dihubungi kapan saja; intensifikasi jam kerja pun jadi memungkinkan. Sekarang sudah tidak lagi relevan apakah seorang pekerja ada di kantor, rumah, atau tempat lain, yang lebih penting apakah dia berstatus *online* atau tidak. Kapanpun dan di manapun telepon berdering, pasti dari seseorang di tempat kerja (Eriksen, 2005). Eriksen (2005) bahkan secara liris menyebut era ini sebagai “tirani email” yang merupakan bagian integral dari masyarakat 24 jam dan menggambarkan bentuk fleksibilitas spasial.

Perlu dicatat bahwa artikel Eriksen dipublikasikan pada 2005 dan telah digarap tiga tahun sebelumnya—ketika email secara umum belum dapat diakses lewat ponsel. Oleh karena itu, pernyataannya kini kian relevan. Hari ini, mungkin ada pekerjaan yang harus dirampungkan saat itu juga tak hanya ketika ada panggilan masuk, tapi juga sewaktu muncul notifikasi email, aplikasi pesan, atau bahkan media sosial.

Dampak dari jam kerja yang panjang tentu saja adalah terpotongnya waktu senggang para informan. Informan 5.B mengatakan ia kerap kali mengorbankan waktu istirahat, berkumpul bersama keluarga, atau sekadar “nonton Netflix atau TV” karena harus terus bekerja. Dengan demikian, karena tubuh biologis manusia punya keterbatasan, kelelahan fisik dan mental jadi hal yang mutlak. Sebuah survei menyebut masalah kesehatan serius yang dialami pekerja di industri kreatif sepuluh persen lebih tinggi ketimbang rata-rata nasional (Eynde, dkk., 2016). Survei lain menemukan “pekerja kreatif” lebih mungkin mengalami masalah mental tiga kali lebih besar. 60% responden bahkan terpikir bunuh diri (Shorter, dkk., 2018).

Selain itu, dengan bekerja dalam format ruang-waktu yang fleksibel, batas antara waktu luang/istirahat, waktu kerja, dan waktu sosial termasuk bersama keluarga “cenderung menjadi kabur” (Valoura, 2013). Informan 2.S, yang punya pekerjaan tetap dengan status Perjanjian Kerja Waktu Tidak Tertentu (PKWTT), tapi juga mengambil pekerjaan sampingan, mengatakan ia biasa mengerjakan sampingan ketika di rumah. “Istirahat dulu, [lalu] kerja sampai jam dua belas sampai jam satu [malam].” Ia juga mengatakan pernah bekerja “sampai jam dua,” bukan karena pekerjaannya sudah selesai pada jam dua, tapi “sudah enggak kuat” dan “pagi-pagi harus berangkat” kerja lagi.

Para informan tidak punya banyak pilihan untuk terhindar dari situasi ini. Pilihannya sesederhana menerima pekerjaan, seberat apa pun itu, atau tidak bekerja sama sekali. Informan 4.J mengakui bahwa seorang pekerja lepas memang harus bekerja keras sebab “kalau kita mengikuti *stereotype freelance* yang santai, ya *enggak* punya duit.” Akibatnya, peluang sekecil apa pun akan diambil, terutama bagi mereka yang baru berkecimpung di dunia kerja fleksibel.

Apa yang dialami oleh para informan membuktikan bagaimana buaian dan citra-citra positif soal FWP tidak terbukti. Banyak proyek yang tenggatnya sangat ketat dan harus disetujui oleh pekerja mengharuskan kerja-kerja yang intensif sepanjang waktu. Pada akhirnya, gagasan jam fleksibel yang menunjukkan bahwa individu mampu mengontrol atas kapan dan berapa lama dia bekerja sebenarnya tidak ada. Kebutuhan proyek selalu yang terpenting dan fleksibilitas ditentukan oleh itu, bukan oleh kebutuhan pekerja (Gill, 2002).

Jam kerja yang panjang dan segala turunannya ini adalah satu contoh kondisi kerja yang muncul dari *flexploitation*. Beberapa contoh lain dari eksploitasi akibat jam kerja panjang dan tidak menentu ini adalah lembur yang tidak dibayar (informan 2.S), upah yang justru dipotong karena tidak masuk saat sakit, dan tidak boleh duduk pada waktu kerja (informan 3.S).

Dalam hal ini kerja fleksibel justru digunakan oleh pemberi kerja untuk mengurangi jumlah upah yang semestinya ia bayar dan jadi lonjakan eksploitasi (Gray, 2004). Fleksibilitas jenis ini hanya menguntungkan bagi pemberi kerja, sebagaimana disadari oleh informan 1.S (“fleksibilitas itu paling ideal bagi pemberi kerja”) dan 5.B (“fleksibel suka-suka klien”). Fleksibilitas yang menjadi *flexploitation* ini terutama memengaruhi mereka yang berada di bawah tekanan paling besar untuk menerima kondisi kerja yang buruk dan paling tidak mungkin berserikat (Ibid.)

4 . 3

KETIDAKPASTIAN PEKERJAAN DAN PENDAPATAN DITANGGUNG SENDIRIAN

Flexploitation yang dicirikan dengan masifnya kerja-kerja temporer ini berdampak pada kondisi kerja yang secara umum rentan (Kong, 2014). Dalam konteks industri kreatif, fleksibilitas dalam pekerjaan bahkan bukan hanya menghasilkan kondisi kerja yang rentan, tapi memang “sering kali dibangun di atas kondisi kerja tersebut” (Bridges, 2018).

Para informan umumnya berbagi pengalaman mereka tentang kerentanan menjadi dua aspek yang saling berkelindan. *Pertama* adalah pengalaman akan *precarization* atau yang disebut oleh Lorey (2015) sebagai proses kerentanan. Lorey juga menelusuri instrumen-instrumen yang digunakan negara atau tempat kerja yang membuat masyarakat dan pekerja menjadi rentan. Sedangkan yang *kedua* adalah pengalaman informan akan keadaan rentan atau *precarity*. Lorey (2015) menyebutkan *precarity* mengacu pada ketidakpastian yang muncul berdasarkan beragam hierarki sosial seperti ketimpangan kelas sosial, gender, ras, dan sebagainya.

Proses terjadinya kerentanan paling sering muncul ketika para informan berbagi pengalaman mengenai keadaan lapangan pekerjaannya. Informan 1.B, sebagai contoh, berkeluh kesah soal ketidakpastian masa depan lapangan pekerjaannya saat ini, *wedding decorator*, “Entah itu enam bulan atau satu tahun, ini enggak bisa kontrak jangka panjang karena ini *event* ya. Jadi orang *come and go*-nya

cepat banget di bisnis ini. Bukan juga perusahaan yang punya *career path*, bukan yang bisa memberikan *security* buat karyawannya, karena ini *event-based*.”

Informan 1.B serta beberapa informan lain, terlebih lagi yang berstatus pekerja lepas, sangat memahami bahwa masa depan karier mereka dalam bidang pekerjaan yang ditekuni saat ini sangat tidak pasti. Hilangnya tangga karier tersebut membuat para informan khawatir akan ketidakpastian meningkatnya kualitas hidup yang kerap diasosiasikan dengan meningkatnya pendapatan atau posisi pekerjaan—*upward social mobility*. Kekhawatiran ini muncul karena para informan sadar akan dampak ketidakpastian ini pada rantai panjang kehidupan mereka, terutama dalam hal perencanaan-perencanaan jangka panjang, misalnya keinginan untuk memiliki asuransi jiwa atau hunian yang layak. Hal ini kemudian berdampak juga pada keadaan mental para informan. “Takut gini-gini aja,” seperti yang dikatakan oleh informan 2.S.

Kong (2014) menjabarkan beberapa keadaan mental yang kerap dirasakan para pekerja di bawah *flexpotation*, yaitu resah, cemas, serta terisolasi. Fleksibilitas dengan mudah menyebabkan kerentanan bukan hanya saat ini, tapi juga kemungkinan ketidakpastian di masa depan. Wajar jika krisis kesehatan mental telah dan akan semakin luas dialami oleh para pekerja.

Para informan juga memahami bagaimana pekerjaan mereka sangat mudah menjadi tidak pasti oleh keadaan sosial. Hal ini dituturkan oleh informan 1.B ketika berbagi mengenai dampak pandemi Covid-19. “Apalagi dalam keadaan seperti ini, kan ini [pekerjaannya] jadi kebutuhan tersier yah.” Rentannya pekerjaan para informan juga diafirmasi oleh para informan di kota-kota lain. Seperti dikatakan oleh informan 1.J yang bekerja di bidang perfilman.

“Yang paling dikit gua pernah dalam sebulan enggak dapat sama sekali itu kalau lagi musim paceklik. Biasanya musim paceklik gini kebanyakan orang-orang video kalau pas bulan puasa memang. Karena puasa orang-orang pada istirahat, jarang ada yang bikin *shooting* iklan, korporat, iklan pun paling iklan (merk) gitu doang. Paling kalau bulan puasa yang ramai justru orang TV yang *job*-nya banyak.”

Dari pengalaman informan 1.J, musim-musim paceklik yang jika kami telusuri pernyataannya sudah diperkirakan terjadi tetap tidak dapat diantisipasi dengan mudah karena ada ketidakpastian pendapatan pada bulan-bulan sebelum paceklik. Informan 1.J menambahkan,

“Tahun 2019 itu buat gua tahun parah-parahnya sih. Januari–Februari enggak ada kerjaan, terus bulan Ramadhan juga enggak ada *job* masuk, jadi ya udah tiga bulan.”

Proses perentanan lain yang kami temukan dalam penelitian ini dipengaruhi oleh letak geografis para informan. Seperti yang telah dijabarkan Kong (2009), modal budaya, pengetahuan, dan ekonomi yang dimiliki sebuah kota sangat memengaruhi perentanan para pekerja.

Sebagai contoh, informan 2.B sebagai pekerja lepas menyatakan bahwa pasar pembeli produknya berada di Jakarta dan Surabaya, “Kalau gua bilang, kreator *brand* di Bandung itu *market*-nya semua di Jakarta dan Surabaya.” Ia melihat bahwa hal ini disebabkan oleh tingginya daya tawar pasar Jakarta dan Surabaya dibandingkan dengan Bandung. Bagi mereka yang tidak memiliki akses ke pasar-pasar ini tentu telah dan akan terus mengalami ketimpangan dibandingkan dengan para pekerja yang memiliki akses tersebut. Ini dapat pula meningkatkan perentanan.

Meski demikian, memiliki akses ke daerah yang berdaya beli lebih tinggi tidak menjamin akan menurunkan kemungkinan perentanan. Ini dialami informan 5.B ketika menuntut upah pekerjaan yang setara dengan pekerja Jakarta. Ia kerap dihadapkan dengan pernyataan, “*rate*-nya [Bandung] itu lebih kecil dengan alasan UMR Bandung kan cuman segini. Lu enggak bisa bandingin sama Jakarta.”

Seandainya pun mereka yang beruntung atau memiliki modal (sosial, ekonomi, budaya) menemukan pasar yang menghargai dengan sepadan, para pekerja tetap dihadapkan dengan proses perentanan berikutnya, yaitu para pemberi pekerja yang kerap tidak menginginkan hak para pekerja. Seperti yang diutarakan oleh informan 1.J,

“Jadi gua udah selesai ngerjain tapi kerjanya batal tayang. Jadi, gua ngerjain iklan suplemen minuman kesehatan lah. Udah selesai ngedit, udah *present* ke agensi, agensi udah setuju, terus dari agensi itu mereka *present* ke kliennya sendiri. Nah, keputusan kan di klien ya. Ternyata kliennya enggak tau dia berubah pikiran atau gimana, memutuskan untuk, udahlah yang ini enggak usah ditayangin aja.”

Lebih jauh, minimnya jaminan representasi atau apa yang diungkapkan oleh Standing (2011, hal. 10), “memiliki suara kolektif di pasar tenaga kerja, misalnya melalui serikat pekerja independen, dengan hak untuk mogok kerja,” turut memperdalam proses perentanan pekerja. Dengan terbatasnya representasi kolektif di pasar tenaga kerja tersebut, yang sangat membatasi tekanan kolektif kepada para pemberi kerja, para pekerja menjadi sangat lemah ketika menuntut haknya. Karena hal ini proses perentanan yang dialami para pekerja semakin dalam.

Secara individual, para pekerja menyadari keterbatasannya dalam mengupayakan intervensi. Ironisnya, ini termasuk menuntut pembayaran atas pekerjaan yang telah mereka

lakukan. Beberapa informan akhirnya pasrah. Informan 5.J misalnya mengatakan,

“Kalau misalnya gua ngerjain kerjaan dan klien gua enggak bayar, ya gua enggak bisa apa-apa, kan? Enggak bisa nuntut itu. Karena enggak ada penengahnya.”

Instrumen berikutnya dalam proses perentanan pekerja adalah penghilangan jaringan pengaman sosial. Pada masa awal kapitalisme industri, tidak lazim bagi pekerja untuk hanya menerima upah berupa uang (McNally, 1993). Kemudian, memasuki abad ke-20, tren tersebut dilanjutkan dengan peningkatan pendapatan sosial yang berasal dari keuntungan perusahaan atau negara. Hal ini dapat berupa beragam jaminan sosial, seperti asuransi kesehatan, jaminan pensiun, jaminan Pemutusan Hubungan Kerja (PHK), dan sejenisnya.

Sebagian besar informan yang kami wawancarai tidak mendapatkannya. Informan 5.B, dalam lini kerjanya sebagai penulis dan penyunting lepas, mengatakan, “gua semua yang nanggung kalo gua sakit segala macam. Mereka (pemberi kerja) pokoknya cuma tahu bayar segitu. Mereka enggak mau tahu hal-hal lain.” Hal serupa dialami oleh informan 2.J yang bekerja sebagai penulis. “Enggak ada yang ngasih asuransi kesehatan. Maksudnya itu kan penting banget gitu, enggak kayak kerja di kantor gitu *Iho*.”

Melihat banyak hal yang mengakibatkan ketidakpastian pendapatannya, para informan penelitian sangat menyayangkan tidak ada jaring pengaman dari negara atau pemberi kerja yang dapat meminimalisasi dampak terhadap kehidupan mereka yang sudah rentan.

Di antara banyak jaminan sosial, asuransi kesehatan jadi yang sangat diinginkan oleh para informan, terlebih ketika memang keselamatan dan kesehatan kerap menjadi

hal yang dipertaruhkan ketika bekerja. Hal ini misalnya dikatakan oleh informan 1.J yang bekerja di bidang perfilman,

“Masalah K3 (keselamatan dan kesehatan kerja) di film itu paling jahat. Udah enggak ada asuransi, protokol keamanan dan kesehatan di masa-masa zaman dulu, 2012 ke bawah, itu ngaco banget. Kerja di ketinggian, lu enggak dilengkapi tali. Walaupun dilengkapi, peralatan keamanan itu sangat minimal. Buat gua itu suatu hal yang *fucked up* sih.”

Walaupun para informan menyadari dan memahami proses perentanan dan instrumen-instrumennya, mereka percaya terhadap kemampuan diri—dari modal-modal ekonomi dan sosial yang dimiliki—dalam menghadapi keadaan yang serba tidak pasti tersebut. Lorey (2015) menyebut hal ini sebagai prekarisasi diri atau proses pelumrahan perentanan dan dicerna melalui logika sistem neoliberal, terutama aspek individualisasi permasalahan sosial yang melahirkan otonomi semu. Informan 2.B menjabarkannya sebagai berikut,

“Dibilang rentan banget sih enggak, tapi kemungkinan itu ada. Karena mungkin ada *network* sedikit-sedikit di sini dan beberapa tempat, jadi masih ada kesempatan atau *opportunity* untuk mencoba banyak hal. Misalnya, sekarang mungkin di dunia desain atau kreatif lagi mandek, tapi karena gua punya pengetahuan sedikit tentang pangan sehat, kuliner, ya, gua coba bikin ini deh.”

Kepercayaan diri terhadap modal-modal ekonomi, sosial, dan budaya yang dimiliki dalam menghadapi kerentanan juga ditegaskan oleh informan 4.J. “Mungkin aku enggak punya tabungan banyak gitu, tapi aku punya barang produksi yang bisa menghasilkan. Jadi, tabunganku itu.”

Sejalan dengan ini, kami juga menemukan narasi bahwa para pekerjalah yang harus bisa mengendalikan diri menghadapi struktur-struktur yang merentankan mereka ini. Seperti dalam kasus informan 3.J yang melihat bahwa berhasil atau tidaknya seseorang menghadapi kerentanan bergantung pada kemampuan menahan konsumsi.

“Jadi untuk kerentanan, aku sebagai pekerja rentan itu masih *fifty fifty*, enggak, menurutku belum rentan sekali... Karena memang dari dulu tuh kayak bukan tipikal yang gaya hidupnya melebihi penghasilan.”

Beberapa informan bahkan melihat kerentanan yang dialaminya sebagai pecut agar lebih mawas diri dalam cara hidup dan bekerja. Ini dikatakan informan 2.S, seorang desainer grafis.

“Sebelumnya memang setiap hari dituntut untuk kerja, kerja, kerja. Jadi kadang baru inget kalau, ‘mbak ini udah tanggal segini lho, udah bayar ini, bayar itu.’ Kalau sekarang sudah ingat, oh *deadline* dua hari lagi, jadi udah, udah bikin *reminder* dan enggak yang kayak benar-benar stres sih. *Impact*-nya ya lumayan bagus. Mungkin awal-awalnya aku ngerasa kok perekonomian kayak gini. Tapi terus aku ambil sisi positifnya.”

Contoh-contoh otonomi semu di atas menunjukkan prekarisasi diri yang sesungguhnya. Individualisasi permasalahan sosial begitu mudah didapati pada pekerja yang menjadi informan dalam riset ini. Persoalan mengenai otonomi relatif dari para pekerja di industri ini terkait erat dengan permasalahan para pekerja yang sering kali dianggap dan menganggap dirinya sebagai *self-employed workers* dan bahkan *entrepreneur*, suatu hal yang telah kami sebutkan sebelumnya sebagai pengelabuan status kerja yang berdampak pada kondisi dan kerentanan mereka sebagai pekerja (Morgan & Nelligan, 2018).

Seperti yang dijelaskan pada bagian sebelumnya, kerentanan hadir karena dibutuhkan oleh pekerjaan fleksibel dan bahkan “dibangun di atas kondisi kerja tersebut” (Bridges, 2018). Semakin rentan seseorang, maka akan semakin mudah pula ia menerima pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang fleksibel. Dengan merentankan kondisi kehidupan dan penghidupan, para pekerja dipaksa untuk memutar otak lebih dan bertindak kreatif, yakni mencari kerja, mengatur jadwal sehari-hari, mengembangkan diri dan keterampilan, hingga membangun jejaring sosial.

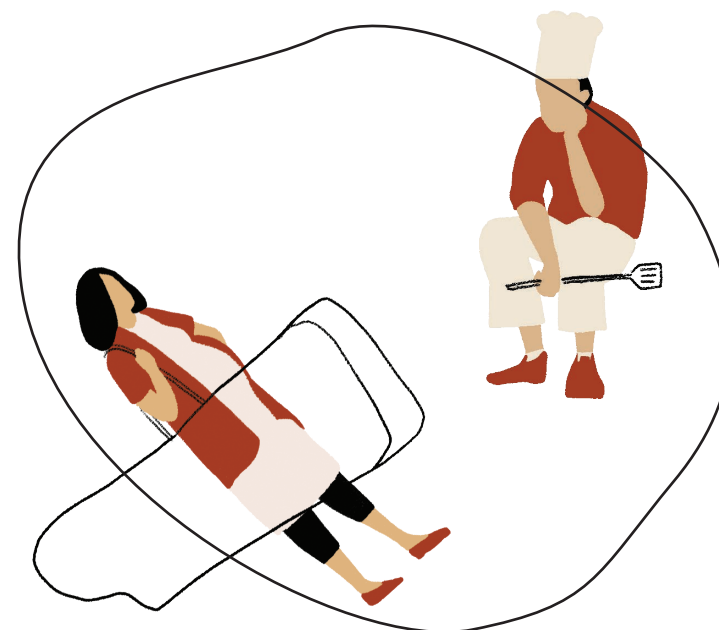
Selain itu, banyak pekerja membenarkan prekarisasi diri dengan melihat dirinya sebagai bos atau *entrepreneur*. Namun, seperti yang telah diargumentasikan oleh Polimpung (2018), “bahwa tujuan utama prekarisasi termasuk prekarisasi diri adalah mengarahkan, mengkooptasi, dan merebut kreativitas para pekerja ini demi kepentingan akumulasi keuntungan dan kekuasaan para penguasa dan pemodal. Tindakan kreatif pekerja ini hasilnya dipetik bukan oleh pekerja itu sendiri, melainkan oleh para majikannya.”

Melalui penelitian ini, kami menggarisbawahi beberapa hal yang dapat dipahami dari keadaan para pekerja di industri ini. Mayoritas pekerja mengalami ketidakpastian dalam hal kepemilikan akan pekerjaan dan seandainya memiliki pekerjaan pun mengalami ketidakpastian dalam pendapatan. Pekerjaan rentan yang dilakukan para informan juga tersebar di antara periode-periode pengangguran karena menunggu pekerjaan berikutnya. Hal itu membuat hidup mereka menjadi rentan ditambah minimnya akses pada jaringan pengaman sosial, semakin merentankan dan membawa ketidakpastian yang mendalam.

Dengan keseharian yang rentan serta ketidakpastian yang mengakar, para pekerja sulit menghitung atau bersiap diri akan kemungkinan peristiwa yang merugikannya. Hal tersebut bisa berupa neoliberalisasi perekonomian

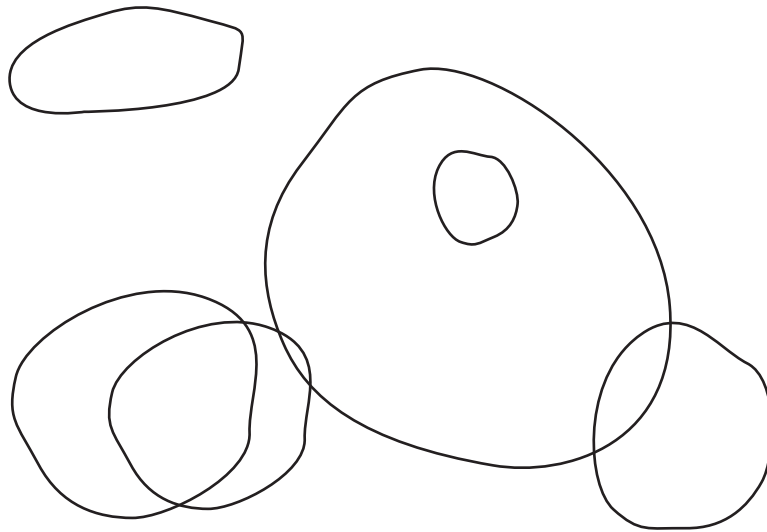
yang membuka kemungkinan guncangan ekonomi yang merugikan lebih tinggi, atau kembali ke Lorey (2015) yang meminjam penjelasan Judith Butler (2004), bahwa pada dasarnya keberadaan manusia memang rentan dan tak dapat dihindari.

Kehidupan rentan para pekerja akan menyebabkan sulitnya mereka untuk mengatasi dan memulihkan kejadian buruk dalam hidup mereka. Para pekerja rentan jauh lebih terdampak akan ketidakpastian-ketidakpastian yang pasti dalam kehidupan mereka. Proses ini tidak hanya merentankan mereka yang sudah rentan, tapi juga memperluas jurang ketimpangan antara mereka yang mampu dan yang tidak. Mereka yang mampu akan jauh lebih mengatasi kejadian buruk sedangkan yang rentan akan mengalami yang disebut Standing sebagai “pengalaman akan kefanaan yang konstan” (2014 hal. 23). Terombang-ambing dalam ketidakpastian dan selalu dalam kerentanan.



IDENTIFIKASI POSISI KELAS PARA PEKERJA DI INDUSTRI KREATIF DAN TANTANGAN BAGI SERIKAT BURUH

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5 . 1

KELAS PEKERJA YANG TERPREKARISASI SECARA GLOBAL

Seiring berkembangnya neoliberalisme sejak akhir 1970-an dan awal 1980-an, kelas pekerja sedunia mengalami prekarisasi secara global (Harvey, 2007; Yates, 2018). Pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang semakin terinformalisasi menjadi penyebabnya. Akibat perubahan agraria, banyak orang pindah ke kota dan mencari pekerjaan di sana (Davis, 2004; Rizzo, 2017). Namun, terbatasnya lapangan pekerjaan formal di kota-kota besar membuat para pekerja dari wilayah pedesaan bekerja di sektor-sektor informal sebagai *self-employed workers*, seperti menjadi pedagang, tukang angkat barang, dan sebagainya (Habibi, 2016). Para pekerja informal ini merupakan surplus produksi relatif, yang “umumnya dapat didefinisikan dengan ketidakamanan dan bentuk kerentanan dari aktivitas kerja di luar sektor inti produksi kapitalis” (Marx, sebagaimana dikutip Habibi, 2016, hlm. 9).

Selain itu, seiring dengan meningkatnya fleksibilitas pasar tenaga kerja/*Labour Market Flexibility* (LMF), pekerjaan-pekerjaan pun kian terinformalisasi dan para pekerjanya dikenal dengan sebutan *precariat* (Standing, 2011). Dalam LMF, efisiensi biaya produksi menjadi kata kunci. Akibatnya, pengurangan tenaga kerja dan perekrutan tenaga kerja via *outsourcing* serta mekanisme kerja kasual lainnya pun menjadi sangat lumrah (Izzati, 2014; Suwandi, 2019).

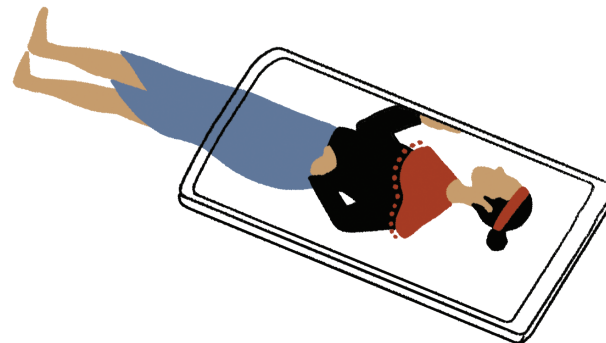
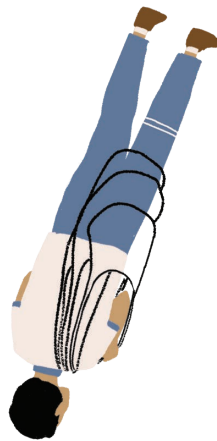
Pencarian lokasi produksi baru demi mengurangi biaya dari sisi tenaga kerja sering kali dilakukan (Pratap, 2014). Dalam

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hal ini, banyak perusahaan produksi skala besar, yang sebagian besar berkantor pusat di negara-negara Utara, secara konsisten memindahkan lokasi produksi ke wilayah-wilayah berupah murah dan tenaga kerja cadangan (*reserve army of labour*) berlimpah yang hampir semuanya berlokasi di negara-negara Selatan (Suwandi, 2019).

Meski demikian, para kapitalis yang berpusat di negara-negara Utara tersebut masih menguasai teknologi dan kontrol atas buruh di negara-negara Selatan (Fahmi Panimbang, 2013; Suwandi, 2019). Akibatnya, para pekerja di negara-negara Selatan pun mengalami ketimpangan upah dibandingkan para buruh di negara-negara Utara, meski dengan tingkat produktivitas yang lebih tinggi (Suwandi, 2019).

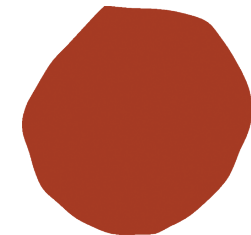
Seiring dengan meningkatnya kemajuan teknologi, bentuk-bentuk pekerjaan baru pun bermunculan, contohnya Toko Daring berbasis Media Sosial (TDMS) (Izzati, 2020). Namun, kondisi pekerja masih sama: makin rentan



dan terinformalisasi, tidak ada kepastian kerja, jaminan kesehatan maupun keselamatan kerja, kesehatan mental diabaikan, dan sebagainya (Yates, 2018). Ini terjadi pada kelas pekerja di semua sektor, termasuk di industri kreatif.

Pada saat yang sama, meningkatnya wacana *entrepreneurship* dan perdebatan mengenai kelas menengah pun mengemuka (Cockayne, 2016; Therborn, 2020). Dalam hal ini, meningkatnya wacana kelas menengah sering kali hanya dilihat dari pendapatan di atas garis kemiskinan dan jumlah pengeluaran (Therborn, 2020), padahal jumlah pemasukan di atas garis kemiskinan tidak serta-merta dapat menunjukkan status kelas seseorang sebagai kelas menengah. Terlebih, dari sisi pengeluaran, dengan meningkatnya pinjaman *online*, akses terhadap konsumsi semakin mudah.

Perubahan-perubahan ini menimbulkan setidaknya dua macam diskusi soal kelas. Pertama, apakah para pekerja rentan yang terinformalisasi akibat LMF adalah sebuah kelas tersendiri yang terpisah atau menjadi bagian dari kelas pekerja. Kedua, bagaimana posisi kelas dari para *self-employed workers* dalam industri kreatif. Ketiga, bagaimana konsekuensi lanjutan dari kedua hal tersebut, termasuk pandangan pekerja soal serikat buruh/pekerja. Terkait itu, temuan hasil penelitian akan dianalisis dalam kerangka tersebut.



5 . 2

PRECARIAT, ENTREPRENEUR, KELAS MENENGAH, ATAU KELAS PEKERJA ?

Identifikasi pekerja atas posisi kelasnya menjadi salah satu hal yang diamati dalam penelitian ini. Temuan kami, pemaknaan para informan terhadap status kelasnya cukup beragam. Beberapa informan mengidentifikasi diri sebagai kelas pekerja dengan langsung memaparkan apa yang mereka kerjakan dan kondisi kerja yang dialami (1.J; 2.J; 6.F; 2.S; 3.S; 4.S; 2.B). Sementara beberapa informan lain, meski tidak mengidentifikasi diri sebagai pekerja, justru menekankan pentingnya berserikat di tempat kerja. Berserikat, bagi seorang informan, misalnya, berfungsi sebagai tempat mengadu jika terjadi kekerasan seksual atau ketika ada hak-hak yang dirampas (1.B).

Ada pula informan yang tidak mengidentifikasi dirinya sebagai buruh atau kelas pekerja. Ada informan yang sepanjang wawancara menempatkan diri sebagai *entrepreneur* atau wirausahawan. Beberapa informan lain terkadang tidak mengidentifikasi diri sebagai pekerja, tapi di beberapa momen lain mengidentifikasi diri sebagai pekerja. Ini terlihat misalnya dari informan 3.J. yang sepanjang wawancara menempatkan diri sebagai *human resource manager* yang merupakan penengah antara "atasan" dan "bawahan", bukan bagian dari keduanya.

"Kita sebenarnya di tengah-tengah," katanya.

Namun, dalam kesempatan lain, informan yang sama menyatakan bahwa ia adalah bagian dari kelas pekerja. Hal serupa terjadi pula pada informan lainnya yang

mengidentifikasi diri sebagai wirausahawan, namun di sisi lain juga mengidentifikasi dirinya sebagai pekerja rentan,

"..kayaknya termasuk pekerja rentan." (4.B).

Informan lain, misalnya 4.J yang memiliki TDMS, tidak menempatkan dirinya secara spesifik sebagai kelas pekerja namun juga tak memaknai posisi sebagai *entrepreneur*.

Identifikasi-identifikasi atas posisi kelas para informan penelitian ini secara ringkas dapat dilihat dalam tabel berikut.

TABEL 4 .

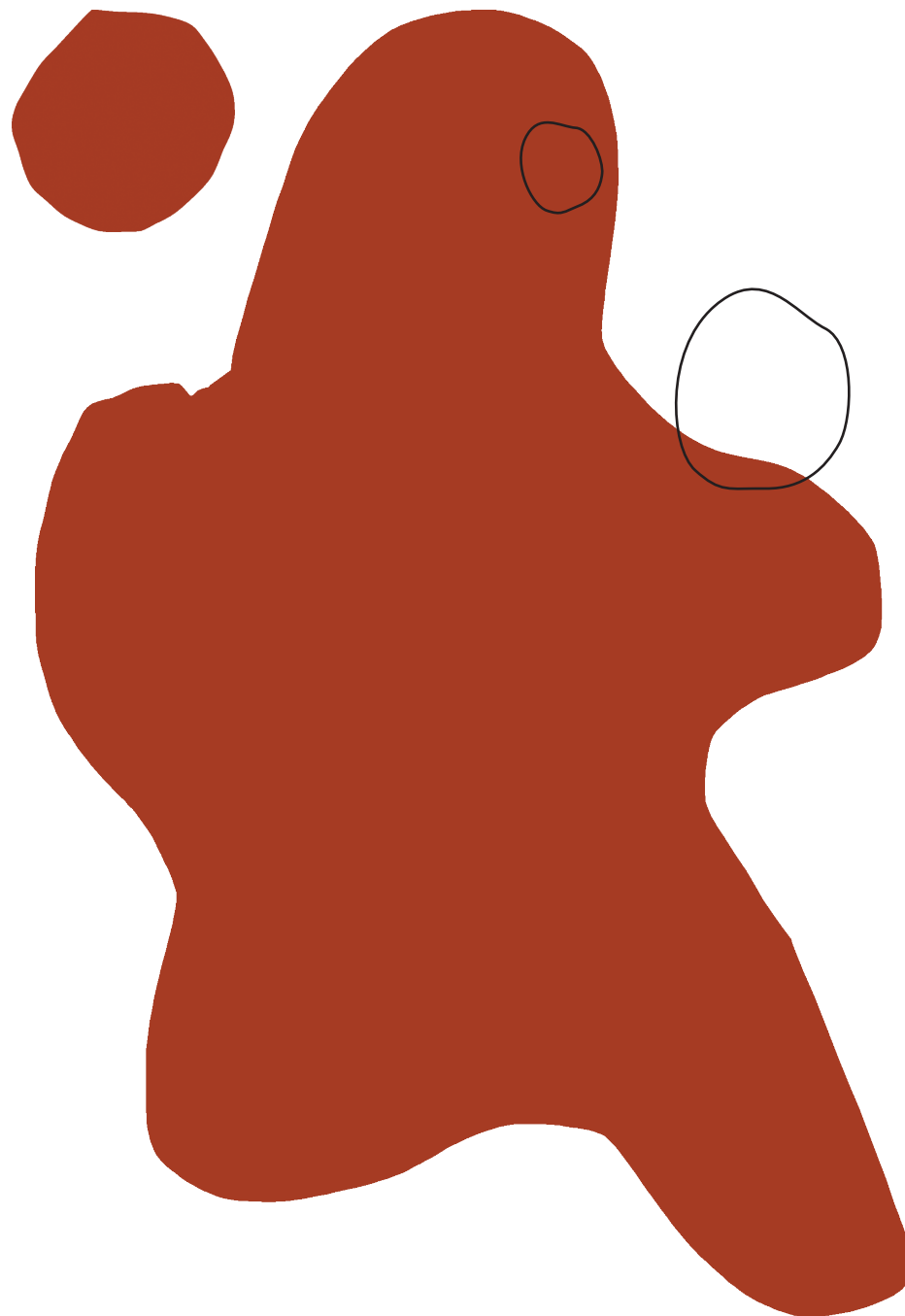
IDENTIFIKASI PARA INFORMAN ATAS POSISI KELAS SOSIAL MEREKA

No	Kategori Identifikasi Posisi Kelas Para Informan Penelitian
1.	Kelas pekerja.
2.	Bukan kelas pekerja, tapi menganggap penting berserikat.
3.	<i>Entrepreneur</i> , bukan kelas pekerja.
4.	Terkadang kelas pekerja, terkadang bukan kelas pekerja.
5.	Bukan kelas pekerja, tapi bukan <i>entrepreneur</i> .

Sumber: olahan data penelitian.

Dari temuan tersebut, ada tiga hal yang dapat dianalisis lebih lanjut. Pertama, identifikasi pekerja sebagai *entrepreneur* akibat pengelabuan hubungan kerja di dalam industri kreatif. Kedua, beragamnya status kerja yang mengaburkan identifikasi pekerja sebagai sebuah kelas. Ketiga, kondisi-kondisi kerja spesifik yang menyebabkan perbedaan pemahaman mengenai kelas pekerja (kondisi kerja yang swadaya, pemasukan, dan jenis pekerjaan).

Meningkatnya wacana *entrepreneurship* dalam *platform capitalism* memang mengaburkan hubungan kerja di dalamnya (Belk, 2014; Cockayne, 2016; Morozov, 2013; Srnicek, 2017). Padahal, banyak pekerja bukan *entrepreneur* karena masih mendapat upah dari pemberi kerja. Identifikasi yang keliru mengenai posisi pekerja sebagai *entrepreneur* ini berdampak pada diabaikannya hak-hak dasar pekerja. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa mereka yang mengidentifikasi diri sebagai *entrepreneur*



cenderung tidak memahami hak-hak dasar mereka.

Banyaknya pekerja di industri kreatif dengan status kerja beragam juga menyebabkan identifikasi yang kabur mengenai posisi kelas mereka sebagai pekerja. Informan 4.B misalnya, mengidentifikasi diri sebagai *entrepreneur* meski sebenarnya dia diupah untuk mengajar musik di salah satu tempat les dan menjadi *sound engineer*—dengan kata lain, pekerja upahan. Meski demikian, temuan penelitian menunjukkan mereka yang bekerja sebagai *freelancer* cenderung memahami posisi mereka sebagai pekerja rentan.

Terkait itu, Wright (2015) menyatakan bahwa *precariat* bukanlah kelas sosial tersendiri meski merupakan segmen yang paling berkembang dari kelas pekerja dan penanggung kesedihan paling mendalam melawan kapitalisme. *Precariat* secara esensial merupakan bagian dari kelas pekerja. Memperlakukan *precariat* sebagai sebuah

kelas, bahkan sebagai sebuah *class in the making*, lebih mengaburkan daripada menjernihkan (Ibid.).

Kemudian, kondisi-kondisi kerja spesifik yang menyebabkan perbedaan pemahaman mengenai kelas pekerja (kondisi kerja yang swadaya, pemasukan, dan jenis pekerjaan). Terkait hal ini, beberapa informan menyatakan kebingungannya dalam mengidentifikasi posisi kelas mereka. Beberapa karena memiliki TDMS atau pekerjaan tetap serta *freelance* pada saat yang sama.

Banerjee & Duflo (2008) menyatakan bahwa kelas menengah biasanya menjalankan bisnis, tetapi hidup dalam kondisi yang miskin meski memiliki akses lebih baik terhadap kredit. Selain itu, kelas menengah adalah mereka dengan pekerjaan dan penghasilan yang aman (hal. 19).

Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa mereka yang memiliki TDMS atau bekerja secara mandiri tidak selalu memiliki akses lebih baik terhadap kredit, terutama kredit perumahan. Ini karena dalam konteks Indonesia, akses terhadap kredit hunian cenderung terbatas pada para pekerja dengan pekerjaan-pekerjaan formal dengan pemasukan tetap.

Informan 4.J, misalnya, mengungkapkan bahwa dirinya kesulitan mengakses berbagai kredit, seperti kredit perumahan, karena prasyarat birokrasi yang menyulitkannya sebagai seniman yang memiliki TDMS.

“Ngurusin itu aku harus ngejelasin pekerjaanku, kenapa enggak ada opsi itu sih, opsi yang mempermudah centang seperti karyawan swasta lain yang tinggal centang, selesai.”

Pekerjaan dan penghasilan para pemilik usaha mandiri, seperti para pekerja di industri kreatif yang memiliki TDMS pun, tidak stabil dan menentu. Oleh karena itu, para informan yang memiliki usaha kecil, termasuk TDMS, tidak

dapat dikategorikan sebagai kelas menengah. Mereka masih termasuk ke dalam kategori pekerja rentan. Dengan kata lain, mereka masih merupakan bagian dari kelas pekerja.

5 . 3

SERIKAT DAN KEKUATAN KELAS PEKERJA

Dalam identifikasi posisi kelas yang beragam tersebut, sebagian informan menyatakan soal pentingnya berserikat meski beberapa di antaranya menyatakan belum berminat bergabung karena berbagai alasan. Sementara itu, beberapa lainnya merasa sangat membutuhkan untuk bergabung dengan serikat buruh/pekerja meski belum berkesempatan di tengah kesibukan kerja yang dijalani (2.S; 3.J; 5B).

“Fokusku itu yo cari uang. Mikir cari rejeki mumet aku, waktuno lho nge-*press*. Jadi kalau ada kegiatan di luar itu, udah enggak bisa.” (2.S).

Sedikit berbeda, informan lainnya memutuskan masuk ke serikat, dalam hal ini SINDIKASI, untuk memperbaiki ekosistem kerjanya, yaitu industri film.

“Gua emang sebenarnya sudah punya satu hal yang pengen gua perjuangin, tentang masalah K3.” (1. J).

Informan 1.J melihat fungsi serikat tak hanya di ranah ekonomis, tapi juga politis. Dengan mengambil contoh di Amerika Serikat, “mereka [serikat] turut campur buat memengaruhi kebijakan pemerintah.”

Informan lainnya mengungkapkan bahwa ia bergabung dengan serikat karena melihat kerabatnya yang bekerja di sebuah perusahaan swasta dan kesehatan fisiknya terganggu akibat kondisi lingkungan kerja yang tidak layak. Selain hak-hak normatif, ia juga mengatakan bahwa serikat penting untuk menjadi jaring pengaman ekonomi para anggotanya lewat koperasi.

“Yang paling nyata itu koperasi. Bukan dari perusahaan tapi, koperasi serikat.” (4.S).

Berbeda dengan informan lain, informan 1.S melakukan fungsi-fungsi serikat ketika ada yang tidak beres di tempat kerjanya. Ia juga menghimpun kawan-kawannya meski tanpa wadah serikat. “Kami bikin grup,” katanya.

Pendapat sebaliknya dikatakan informan 4.B. Ia mengatakan “ketertarikan pasti ada” untuk “mengetahui apa itu serikat.” Namun, sejauh ini ia belum pernah berserikat karena “belum merasa berada dalam tahap rentan untuk membutuhkan perlindungan itu.” Persepsi serupa pun muncul dari informan 5.J. Menurutnya, serikat itu penting bagi mereka yang rentan dan dia tidak merasa rentan sehingga untuk saat ini tidak membutuhkan serikat.

Selain itu, ada pula beberapa informan yang mengatakan pentingnya serikat, mengidentifikasi diri sebagai pekerja, cukup fasih dengan isu-isu politik-sosial, tapi belum mau bergabung ke serikat.

“Belum kepikiran [gabung ke serikat],” katanya, sembari tertawa. “Gua bukan orang yang tipikal terlalu suka berserikat.” (2.J.)

Sementara itu, seorang informan lainnya menyatakan kebingungannya soal berserikat.

“(serikat) sebenarnya penting. (tapi kalau sudah masuk) Seperti apa kegiatannya? Gua harus ngapain sih?” (3.B).

Berikut temuan terkait respons para informan ketika ditanyai soal serikat buruh/pekerja.

TABEL 5.

PANDANGAN PARA INFORMAN MENGENAI SERIKAT BURUH/PEKERJA

No	Pendapat soal Serikat Buruh/Pekerja
1.	Penting dan sudah bergabung dengan serikat.
2.	Penting; ingin bergabung dengan serikat.
3.	Penting; belum berminat bergabung dengan serikat.
4.	Penting; tidak berminat bergabung dengan serikat.
5.	Tidak mengerti.

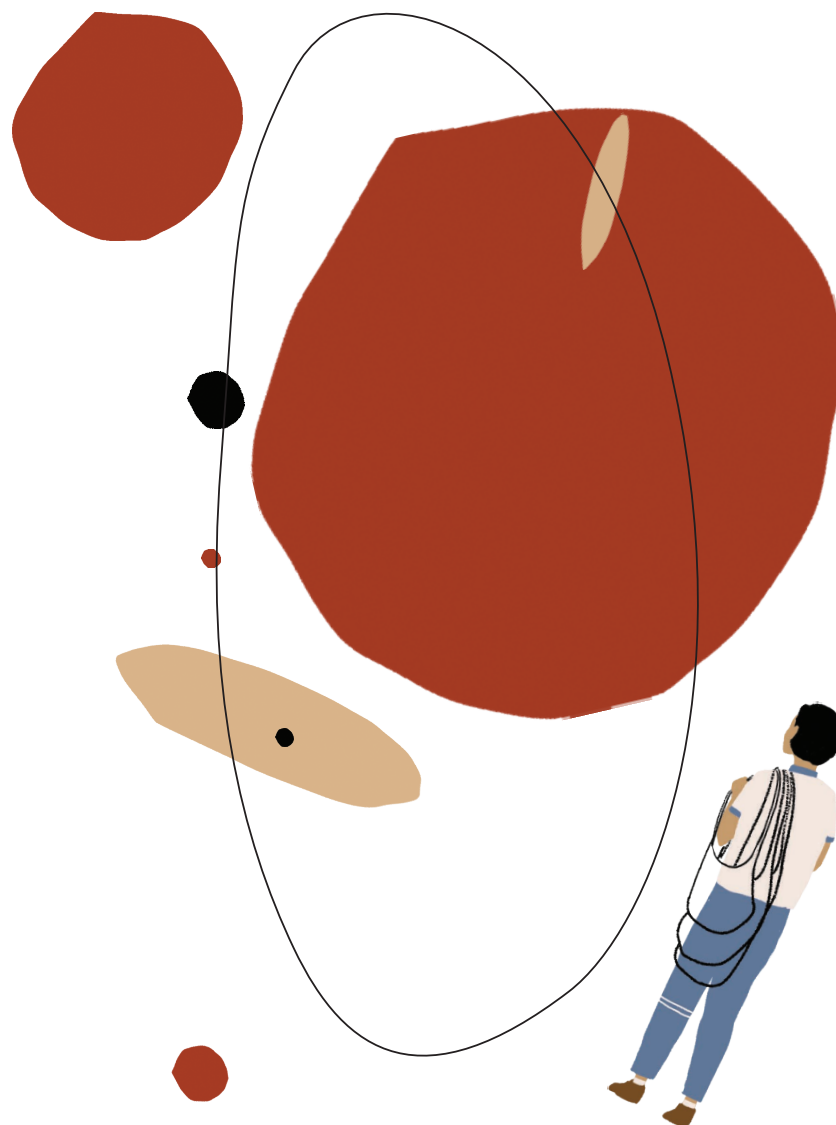
Sumber: olahan data penelitian.

Kebingungan dan ketidakmengertian soal pentingnya serikat buruh/pekerja di kalangan pekerja industri kreatif dapat ditelusuri penyebabnya melalui dua hal. Pertama, secara kognitif, pengetahuan soal serikat diabaikan dari kurikulum pendidikan di Indonesia. Kedua, dalam praktiknya, serikat

buruh selalu dilemahkan melalui praktik pemberangusan serikat) (T.D., dkk., 2016)

Di sisi lain, banyaknya kerja serikat buruh/pekerja yang terekspos di media, termasuk media sosial, membuat beberapa informan menyadari pentingnya berserikat, setidaknya di level pengetahuan. Hal ini, misalnya, tercermin pada isu *omnibus law* RUU Cipta Kerja. Hampir semua informan menyatakan mengetahui isu ini dari berbagai gerakan sosial, termasuk serikat buruh. Mereka juga menyatakan kekhawatirannya akan potensi dampak RUU Cipta Kerja terhadap kehidupan mereka sebagai pekerja di industri kreatif, yang tanpanya pun sudah diliputi berbagai bentuk kerentanan.

Sebagai gambaran, sistem kerja kasual seperti sistem kerja kontrak dan *outsourcing* dilanggengkan dalam pasal-pasal dalam RUU Cipta Kerja yang ditujukan untuk menciptakan iklim yang ramah bagi investasi. Lebih jauh, para informan ini pun berpendapat bahwa perjuangan serikat-serikat buruh dalam melawan RUU Cipta Kerja perlu mendapatkan



dukungan yang luas dari para pekerja secara keseluruhan. Meski dalam level praktik, ada beberapa kendala yang dihadapi pekerja di industri kreatif dalam berserikat. Dalam hal ini adalah kondisi pekerjaan di industri kreatif yang secara umum mengatomisasi para pekerjanya—termasuk melalui sistem kerja *remote*.

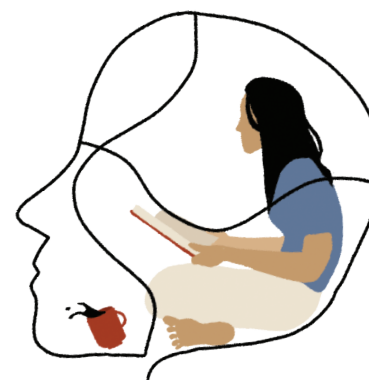
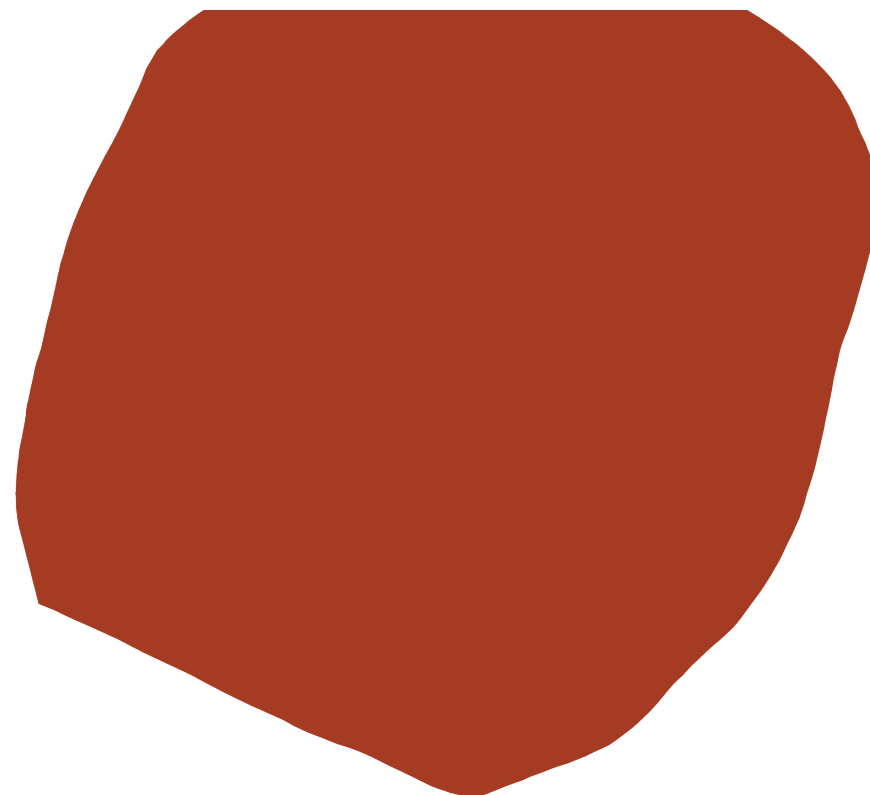
Jam kerja yang tidak menentu juga membuat para informan sulit berserikat. Meski demikian, ada juga yang merasa kurang nyaman dengan bentuk serikat yang ada. Informan 1.J dan 4.J, misalnya, lebih menginginkan serikat yang dapat menaungi sesama profesi, tapi bukan asosiasi, sehingga dapat tetap mengadvokasi hak-hak pekerja di dalamnya. Dengan kata lain, kedua informan ingin agar serikat yang telah ada dapat berfokus dalam kerja-kerja advokasi yang spesifik menyoroti subsektor tertentu dalam industri kreatif.

Terkait itu, para informan kebanyakan telah memahami pentingnya *associational power* yang menjelaskan kekuatan kelas pekerja dalam hal kekuatan serikat yang mereka miliki. Namun, secara umum, para

informan masih cenderung sulit mengidentifikasi *structural power* yang menjelaskan kekuatan kelas pekerja terkait posisi mereka sebagai pekerja dalam industri kreatif. Padahal, kekuatan pekerja sebagai sebuah kelas ditentukan oleh sejauh mana pekerja menggunakan *associational power* dan *structural power* yang dimilikinya (Wright dikutip oleh Silver, 2008).

Pandangan-pandangan para informan ini penting bagi serikat-serikat pekerja di industri kreatif, setidaknya dalam tiga hal. *Pertama*, temuan penelitian ini membantu serikat-serikat buruh/pekerja dalam industri kreatif mengetahui kendala yang dihadapi pekerja dalam berserikat. *Kedua*, serikat-serikat buruh/pekerja dalam industri kreatif bisa mengetahui bahwa kampanye mengenai pentingnya berserikat harus terus disuarakan karena dapat meningkatkan kesadaran kelas pekerja. *Ketiga*, serikat bisa memodifikasi bentuk-bentuknya di masa depan sesuai dengan kondisi dan kebutuhan para pekerja di dalamnya.

Di tengah meningkatnya prekarisasi kelas pekerja secara global dan munculnya bentuk-bentuk kerja baru seiring dengan kemajuan perkembangan teknologi, identifikasi posisi kelas para pekerja yang ada dalam industri kreatif menjadi hal yang sangat penting. Sebabnya, identifikasi tersebut akan memengaruhi bentuk-bentuk aktualisasi kekuatan pekerja sebagai sebuah kelas, termasuk di antaranya melalui serikat. Penyatuan kekuatan pekerja sebagai sebuah kelas penting dilakukan untuk pertama-tama mengubah kondisi kerja dan kehidupan para pekerja di dalamnya. Termasuk dalam industri kreatif yang dipenuhi dengan fleksibilitas tenaga kerja, ketidakpastian, kerentanan, sebagaimana telah dipaparkan lebih detail dalam bab-bab sebelumnya. Kemudian, lebih lanjut, mentransformasi kesadaran tersebut menjadi lebih politis dengan tujuan mengubah kondisi kehidupan seluruh rakyat yang tertindas menjadi lebih baik (Prashad, 2017).



KESIMPULAN

Sektor-sektor yang dikategorikan industri kreatif di Indonesia ditentukan oleh Badan Ekonomi Kreatif—kini melebur bersama Kementerian Pariwisata—yang berjumlah enam belas. Masalahnya, membatasi kajian hanya pada definisi yang ditetapkan oleh negara tidak dapat menghasilkan pemahaman secara menyeluruh atas apa yang sesungguhnya dialami para pekerja di sektor ini. Oleh karena itu, lingkup riset ini lebih “fleksibel” ketimbang definisi yang ditentukan oleh negara. Kami memasukkan beberapa sektor yang secara definisi tidak termasuk industri kreatif, tapi sebenarnya bersinggungan erat, misalnya, pekerja online shop atau pekerja Toko Daring berbasis Media Sosial (TDMS).

Ada enam belas informan dari penelitian ini. Karena pandemi, kami memutuskan menggunakan wawancara mendalam secara daring dengan mengadopsi prinsip-prinsip etnografi.

Berdasarkan penuturan para informan, kami menemukan bahwa apa yang kerap kali dikampanyekan sebagai kelebihan dari sektor ini, yaitu fleksibilitas, sesungguhnya hanyalah ilusi. Seorang pekerja di sektor industri kreatif biasa diberi predikat pekerja yang santai, yang bisa bekerja di manapun (fleksibilitas ruang) sekaligus kapanpun (fleksibilitas waktu). Faktanya justru mereka terbelenggu dan harus menghadapi jam kerja yang panjang. Dalam regulasi, para pekerja idealnya hanya bekerja empat puluh jam per pekan. Para pekerja di sektor ini sudah biasa bekerja lebih panjang dari itu. Bekerja kapan pun jadi ilusi persis karena mereka sesungguhnya tidak mengatur sendiri jam kerjanya, tetapi semua ditentukan oleh tenggat yang diberikan si pemberi kerja—yang kerap kali tidak masuk akal.

Akibatnya semua menjadi kabur. Waktu kerja dan istirahat tidak jelas batasannya. Beberapa informan bahkan mengatakan mereka harus merelakan waktu bersama keluarga hanya untuk menyelesaikan tenggat.

Fleksibilitas ruang dan waktu ini juga hampir selalu dibarengi dengan fleksibilitas perkara upah dan hak-hak lain. Lebih dari setengah informan merasa tidak mendapatkan upah yang layak dibandingkan beban kerja yang mereka dapatkan. Itu pula mengapa 75% dari informan mengaku mengambil beberapa pekerjaan sekaligus. Keluhan lain adalah perkara pembayaran tidak tepat waktu. Kemudian, jika pekerja formal memperoleh hak jaminan sosial—meski juga tak jarang dilanggar—situasi yang dialami para pekerja kreatif lebih rentan. Pemberian jaminan sosial adalah fenomena yang cukup langka di industri ini. Lebih dari enam puluh persen informan tidak mendapatkan asuransi dari pemberi kerjanya.

Sebagian besar informan menyalahkan segala situasi ini kepada ketiadaan kontrak yang jelas. Pun jika ada kontrak, sering kali dengan mudah dilanggar. Karena posisi antara pemberi dan penerima kerja kerap tidak setara, para pekerja tidak punya banyak pilihan selain menerima klausul yang merugikan atau sama sekali tidak bekerja dan mendapatkan uang.

Dampak dari kondisi kerja seperti ini sistemik, memengaruhi banyak aspek dari kehidupan para pekerja. Selain upah rendah, tidak pasti, dan tanpa jaminan sosial yang tadi telah disinggung, kondisi kerja seperti ini juga berdampak pada kesehatan fisik dan mental para pekerja. Riset-riset sejenis menyebut kesehatan mereka lebih mudah terganggu dibanding pekerja di sektor lain. Semua ini disebut dengan flexploitation, yang semakin meningkat seiring dengan perkembangan pasar tenaga kerja fleksibel (labor market flexibility) di industri kreatif.

Dampak lain yang tidak kalah penting dari sistem kerja seperti ini adalah ketiadaan waktu para pekerja untuk berserikat yang merupakan salah satu cara untuk memperbaiki kondisi kerja. Selain perkara waktu, kesulitan berserikat pada dasarnya adalah bawaan di industri ini yang

mengatomisasi para pekerjanya. Ia tidak seperti pekerja di sektor manufaktur yang memang memproduksi sesuatu secara sosial di tempat tertentu (pabrik, dan sejenisnya) dan dieksploitasi bersama-sama dengan jelas.

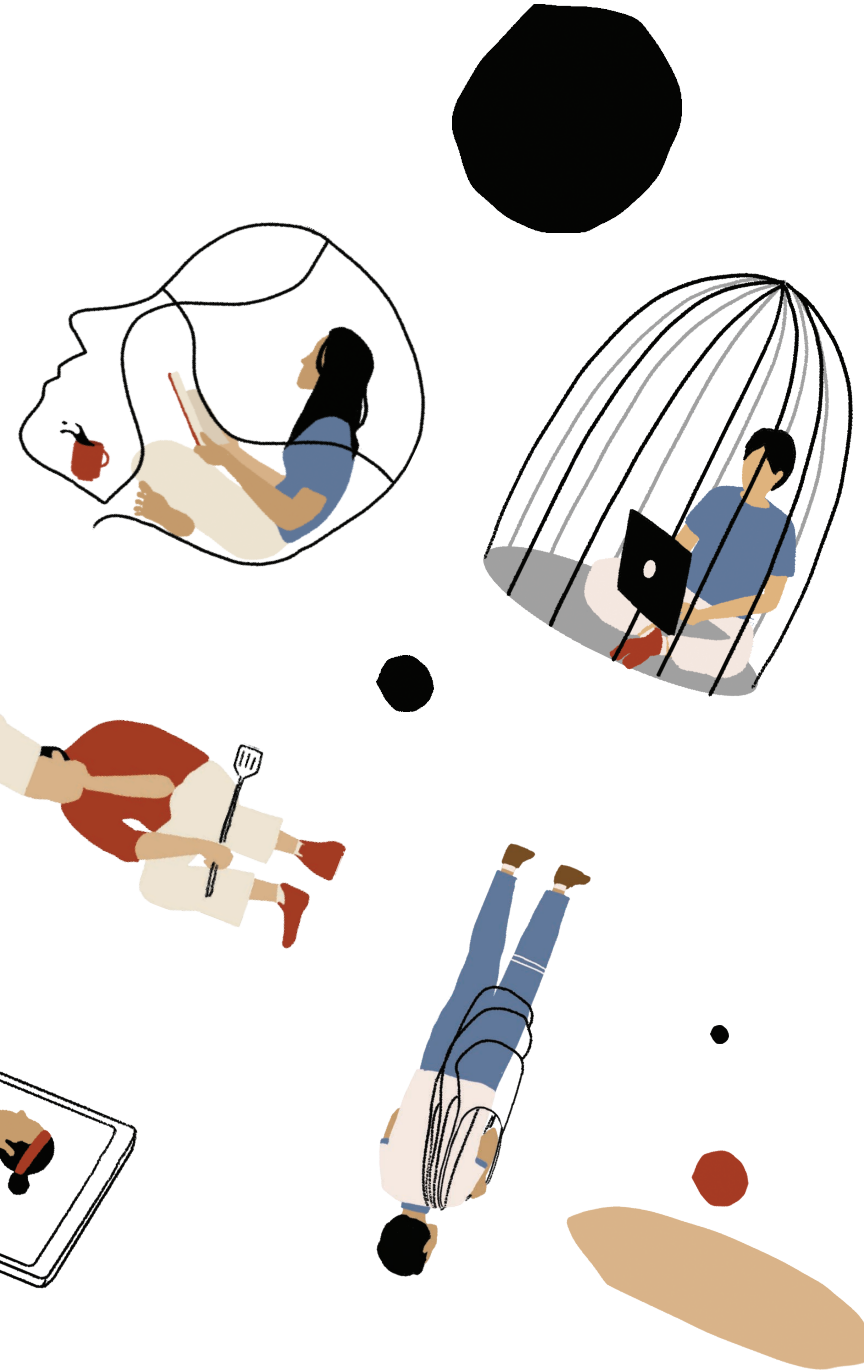
Lalu, mengapa mereka tetap bertahan? Salah satu yang membuat mereka dapat bertahan dalam situasi serba tidak mengenakan tersebut adalah dukungan dari keluarga. Faktor family capital ini cukup signifikan memengaruhi pilihan karier mereka di industri yang tidak pasti ini. Sebanyak 50% informan datang dari keluarga cukup mapan yang dapat memberikan mereka akses ke modal dalam berbagai bentuk, termasuk rumah tinggal sehingga pekerja tidak perlu mengeluarkan uang sewa atau cicilan bulanan. Dengan kata lain, keluarga jadi jaring pengaman sosial tersendiri. Situasi ini membuat beberapa informan melakukan sensor mandiri terkait hak-hak yang semestinya mereka dapatkan. Faktor lain adalah ketiadaan tanggungan keluarga. Hanya 25% informan yang mengatakan memiliki tanggungan di luar dirinya.

Lantas, di mana negara? Negara justru melumrahkan situasi yang tidak normal ini. Buktinya, kita kerap mendengar kampanye bahwa milenial tidak suka pekerjaan yang kaku, birokratis, dan sejenisnya. Mereka lebih suka bekerja fleksibel, di depan laptop di kedai-kedai kopi, dengan pakaian kasual. Dari riset ini, kita tahu bahwa di balik fenomena permukaan yang tampak keren tersebut, ada keadaan yang bobrok. Negara pun terus-menerus mengampanyekan pertumbuhan industri kreatif lewat berbagai program yang intinya menumbuhkan semangat kewirausahaan, tapi sekali lagi, abai atas fakta bahwa populasi yang lebih banyak adalah pekerja, bukan pengusaha.

Negara cenderung absen dalam melindungi para pekerja di industri kreatif. Para informan tidak merasa ada regulasi yang melindungi mereka, tapi juga menganggap UU Cipta

Kerja yang digadang-gadang jadi solusi atas regulasi ketenagakerjaan yang ada bukanlah jawaban. Semua masalah yang dialami para pekerja pun dikembalikan ke individu masing-masing, selaras dengan neoliberalisme, sebuah ideologi yang mengutamakan kebebasan kewirausahaan dan solusi berbasis individu untuk persoalan sosial dalam masyarakat.

Dalam hal ini, peran serikat menjadi penting untuk mengartikulasikan kepentingan para pekerja industri kreatif agar dipenuhi negara. Riset ini menemukan bahwa meski ada pekerja yang menyatakan pentingnya berserikat, yang lain menyatakan sebaliknya. Hal ini disebabkan pengetahuan soal serikat yang dijauhkan dari kurikulum pendidikan di Indonesia, serta faktor-faktor internal yang sudah disebutkan (ketidakpastian jam kerja, atomisasi). Oleh karena itu, serikat harus memilih bentuk-bentuk pengorganisasian yang sesuai dengan kehidupan pekerja di industri kreatif. Ia harus menyesuaikan dengan kondisi dan kebutuhan para pekerja sekaligus keterbatasan-keterbatasannya.



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**CREATIVE WORKERS
IN INDONESIA:
FLEXPLOITATION,
PRECARIOUSNESS,
AND UNIONIZING
CHALLENGES**

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The research team would like to thank all the research informants for sharing their experiences and struggles. We also thank our transcribers, Rahmawati Nur Azizah and Mikael Edo Imantaka, for the painstaking work of transcribing dozens of hours of research interviews; our copy editor, Farhanah Faridz, for ensuring coherence and clarity of our research report; our translators from inotherwords. id who worked hard to translate this research report into English; our designers, Sukutangan, who very beautifully captured our findings into compelling visuals; and, last but not least, our hard-working friends at the printing office. Without their help and collaboration, the completion of this study would not have been possible.

We would also like to express our highest appreciation for the organizers and members of SINDIKASI. In the midst of a global pandemic and an internal crisis, we do hope that this study can ignite hope for better working conditions and a stronger organizing of the working class in the future. We would like to acknowledge FNV Mondiaal for funding this research. Finally, we would like to thank our family for their unconditional support in these trying times.

The working class movement in Indonesia must regain control over the direction of the national development.

Without this control, the Indonesian working class will continue to be trampled on by the oligarchs with their prevailing neoliberalism agenda. This is evident in the various development policies that are increasingly prejudicial against the working class.

At least this is what SINDIKASI has observed throughout its involvement in policy advocacy over the last three years, including in the formulation of Law No. 24 of 2019 on the Creative Economy, as well as the organization's opposition to the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, aptly shortened and referred to by many as RUU Cilaka (The Disastrous Bill).

The domination of investors and neoliberal economists in dictating the direction of national development must end. SINDIKASI believes that the working class, together with other movements for the people, are capable of championing a counter-narrative and putting forward a development agenda that sides with the people. Against this

backdrop, this research becomes an important tool for the working class movement in achieving its goals. Labor/trade unions are stronger when research is part of their daily traditions in running their organization.

This research document is the latest in a series of SINDIKASI's contributions aimed at producing competing narratives in the media and creative industries, particularly on the aspect of labor. Through this research, SINDIKASI has undertaken an effort to fill the missing voice of workers in the development of policies on the creative economy, which President Joko Widodo once hailed as the "backbone of the Indonesian economy." It is by no means our final attempt at building a media and creative industry ecosystem that is equitable, inclusive, and humane.

SINDIKASI will continue to move forward with various breakthroughs in organizing and creating narratives to overcome the setback we experience today.

Ikhsan Raharjo
Acting Chairman of the Executive Committee, SINDIKASI

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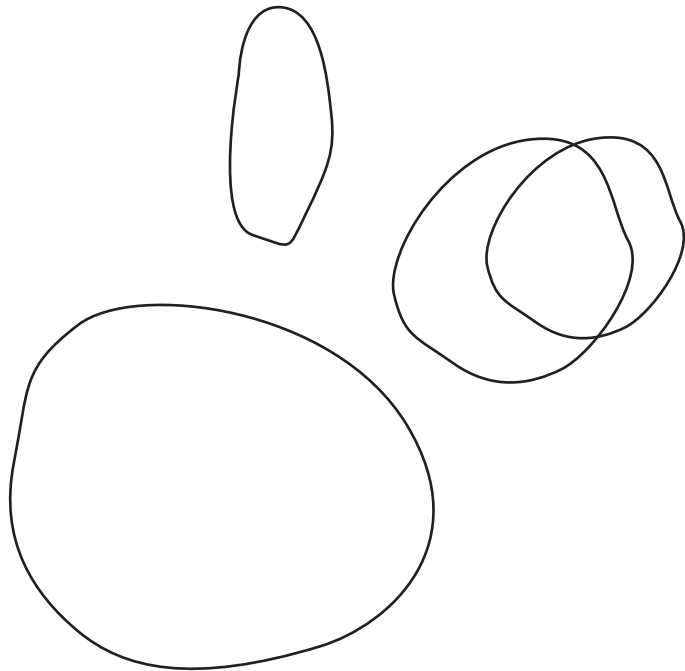
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INTRODUCTION



1.1

BACKGROUND

“It’s almost like slavery: you give so much time (working) without being valued.”

(3.S)

The above quote illustrates one of the many social realities that creative industry workers face: They live in a precarious situation characterized by incomes that are below decent living standards, highly individualized work, and they are far removed from the reach of state protection.

This precariousness is particularly amplified during the Covid-19 pandemic. A survey conducted by the Media and Creative Industry Workers’ Union for Democracy (SINDIKASI) of 139 respondents in April 2020 found that 61.35% of respondents have experienced work or project cancellations. As many as 32.8% of respondents reported potentially losing loss of income between five to fifteen million Rupiah between March and July 2020. Meanwhile, only about 0.4% had access to government assistance.

The lack of assistance from the government is caused by a number of factors. *First*, most of the workers in the creative industries are classified as informal workers, with the status

of freelancers, and are often considered as self-employed workers. *Second*, these workers are socially constructed as being distinct from the working poor (e.g. factory workers) and are often considered white-collar workers due to their shared occupational criteria, such as tech savviness, and so on. *Third*, employment relations are often blurred due to strong illusions about entrepreneurship, when in fact a majority of these workers are not entrepreneurs.

This condition has led to various crowdfunding initiatives among fellow workers, including Bagirata (bagirata.id) and KaryaKarsa (karyakarsa.com), to name a few. Despite various limitations, these initiatives have helped many workers obtain minimum safety net assistance to survive during the pandemic. At the same time, the state tends to be absent. Efforts by the government to provide assistance for cultural workers, such as through the Appreciation Assistance for Cultural Actors (Bantuan Apresiasi Pelaku Budaya) distributed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (KEMENDIKBUD, 2020), tend to be bureaucratic and largely inaccessible to many cultural workers.

On the other hand, government efforts to encourage the growth of the creative economy have begun since the early 2010s. The government cited the creative industry's potential contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and its capacity to absorb labor as their primary motivation (Ministry of Industry, 2015). However, as there is no internationally agreed-upon standard or definition on what constitutes the creative industries, occupations within the creative industries are left for the state to define. In Indonesia, sixteen subsectors of the creative industries have been defined by the Creative Economy Agency (Bekraf) in 2016 (Bekraf and Central Statistics Agency, 2016).

The absence of an internationally agreed-upon definition of the creative industries has resulted in many occupations being excluded from the government's classification,

despite being closely related to the creative industries both in theory and in practice. These types of occupations include: *first*, occupations related to the material aspects of labor that fall under the category of "creative" work; *second*, occupations that are closely related to technological developments and research; *third*, occupations that are in direct contact with the proliferation of work in the "creative" sector. As a result, labor politics in Indonesia tend to neglect workers in these three occupational categories.

With this in mind, the term "creative industries" in this research is used to include not only sectors that are officially recognized by the state, but also other forms of work that are directly intersected.

Furthermore, efforts to promote the creative industries come with the increasingly ubiquitous discourse on "entrepreneurship"; so much so that the term has since become a buzzword (Izzati, 2020a). The government, for instance, created the "National Movement for 1000 Digital Startups", which encourages young people to become "entrepreneurs" primarily by building startups (Ministry of Communication and Informatics, 2020). In addition, the government also encourages Vocational High Schools (SMK) to offer concentrations in service of the creative industries (BeritaSatu, 2017). Similarly, several universities have opened departments related to the development of the creative economy sector in their vocational programs (Suara Merdeka, 2020).

Working as a freelancer has become a trend among the urban youth, at least in the last few years. A survey in January 2020 showed that freelance work appeals primarily to those who work in the creative fields, such as design, writing, and marketing. Not being tied to the regular 9-to-5 working hours is often the main reason one becomes a freelancer. In this regard, flexible working hours are often perceived as a form of freedom. In other words, the allure of

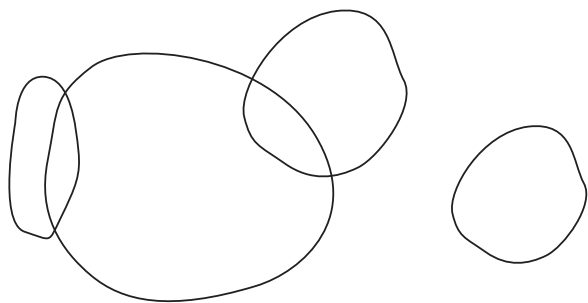
flexible work, which is common in the creative industries, is a compelling selling point.

Unfortunately, such an arrangement contains a dimension of precariousness for the workers, as it often results in the phenomenon of “flexploitation.” In flexploitation, working conditions are characterized by unsafe and unhealthy working environments, the absence of job certainty and employment contracts, the obfuscation of employment relationships, and the absence of social security and protection.

This study explores the discourse surrounding flexibility, including its various dimensions, as well as flexploitation and the precarization of workers in the creative industries. In addition, a mapping of the class positions of the workers in the creative industries will also be featured in this study.

We pose the following research question:

“How do workers in the creative industries understand and experience precarization within the flexible working system under the current flexible labor market regime?”



1 . 2

L I T E R A T U R E R E V I E W

Literature review is useful in guiding the analysis of research results. In this research, literature review is used to provide a broader framework for understanding the research problem, including providing basic concepts for interpreting the research results as a whole (Marzali, 2016).

1 . 2 . 1

T E C H N O L O G I C A L D E V E L O P M E N T S A N D T H E T R A N S F O R M A T I O N O F W O R K

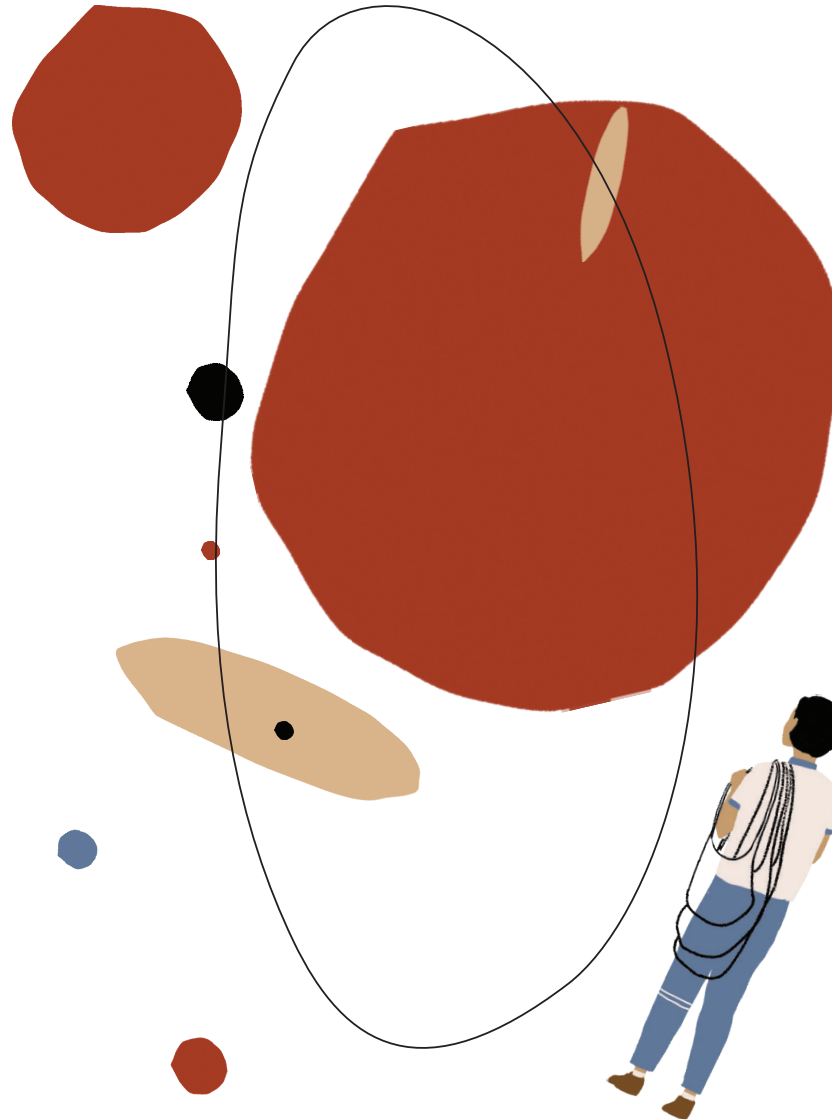
One of the most common phrases often associated with the theory of economics is the notion of “maximizing profits with the smallest sacrifice.” In the context of production, the smallest sacrifice is manifested in minimizing unit labor costs through flexibility (Suwandi, 2019b). The use of production strategies and rationalization and the adoption of lean-and-mean production to control labor-value commodity chains is increasingly made possible by the rapid development of information technology (Srnicek, 2017; Suwandi 2019b).

Some examples of technology-enabled production rationalization include: the delivery-on-demand system, also known as just-in-time production or the Toyota Production System; certification systems issued by third parties such as the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), which are increasingly required in the trade and supply

chain; and an open-costing system that demands a breakdown of each material and operational cost in production (Suwandi 2019a).

The consequence of this rationalization of production is that innovation and knowledge can only be accessed exclusively by large companies and organizations with capital (Suwandi, 2019b). These entities are able to invest in systems and certifications, at the same time putting increasing pressure on suppliers and workers to exercise flexibility in their production activities. As a further consequence, such a system perpetuates inequality by shifting demands for productivity, pressure for flexibility, as well as costs and production responsibilities from large and multinational companies to suppliers which are often smaller in scale—along with their workers (Suwandi, 2019a).

This transfer of demands for productivity, flexibility, costs, and production responsibilities to suppliers and workers are particularly



evident in platform capitalism (Srnicek, 2017). Digital platforms and applications such as Uber, AirBnB, GoJek, and Grab, to name a few, have proven that the most precarious are workers who are at the very end of the production chain, who are often labeled as “partners”

Inequality resulting from this rationalization of production is also apparent among workers. Qiu et al (2014, p. 570), using atheoretical framework “circuits of labor”; explained that internal stratifications exist among technology workers, as seen in the distinction between “self-programmable labor” and “generic labor”. Furthermore, a new category called the “information have-less” has also emerged, owing to the shift of middle-class jobs in the technology industry to developing countries, especially China and India. Those who belong in this category are workers who perform simplified jobs in the information industry.

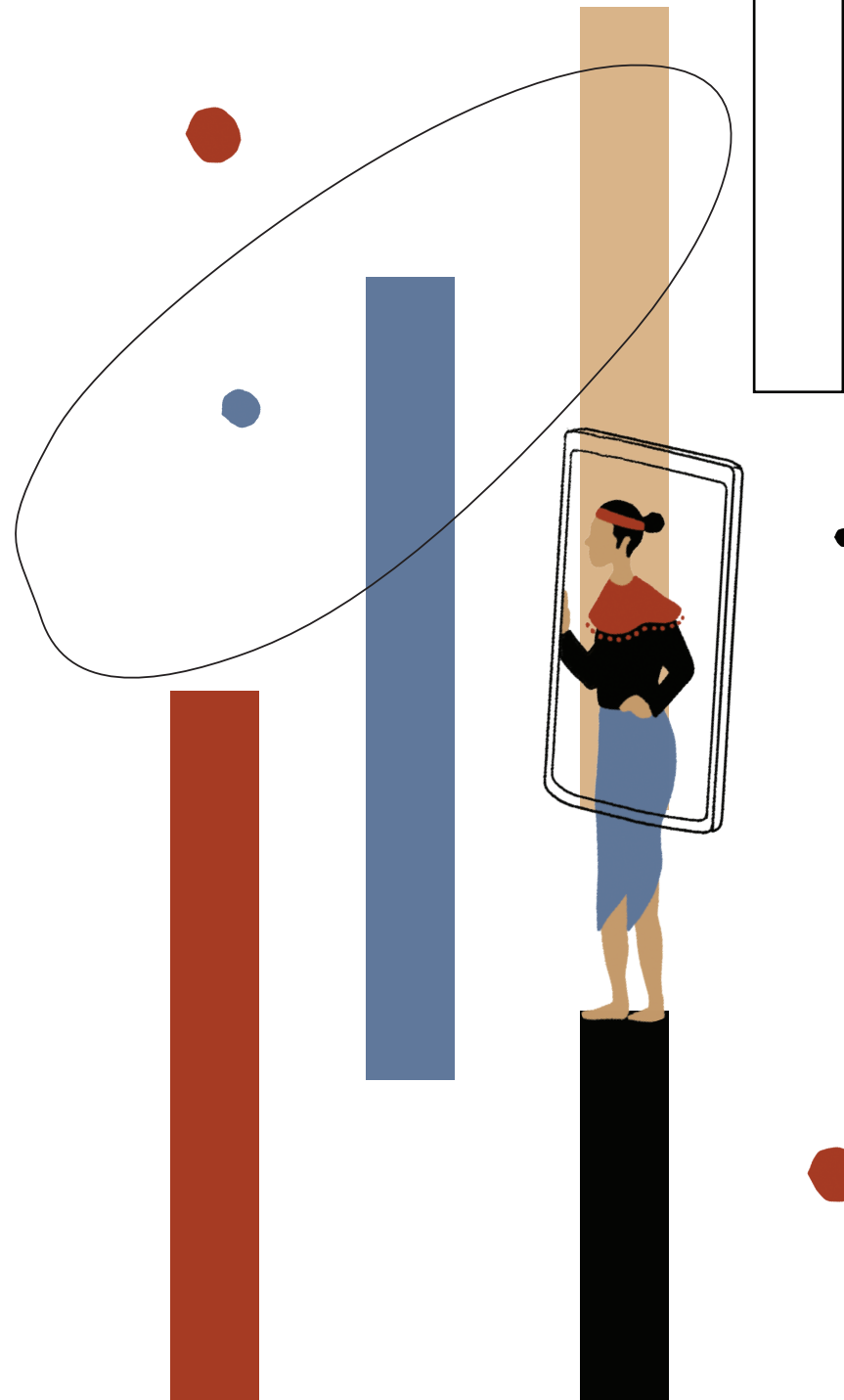
Some examples of this type of jobs include software testers, graphic designers,

quality control and database input personnel, social media content managers, and online store managers, who, despite working on their computers or cell phones, mostly perform repetitive and labor-intensive work (Qiu, 2014). In fact, many of the key informants in this research are workers in these fields. In this respect, according to Izzati (2020b), jobs that emerge from social media-based online store businesses also entail the feminization of labor and are inextricably linked to the social reproductive burden imposed by the capitalist society upon women. As a result, the two elements also shape the notion of “feminized work” that are often associated with these jobs (Ibid.).

The above phenomena demonstrate how technology influences, and beyond that, transforms work. In the creative industries, technology also plays a role in job extensification. The interdependence between the two is most evident in the phenomenon of the gig economy, which, according to Woodcock and Graham (2020,

p.10), is a “labor market characterized by independent contracts that occur through and on digital platforms.” They went as far as to say that the increasingly prevalent gig economy is one of the main signs of the changing working and living conditions. Such is the case in Indonesia, where online transportation applications—symbolizing the gig economy—have undoubtedly brought many changes to working and living conditions in the country.

Using this framework, this research will take a deeper look into precisely how various forms of work in the creative industries in Indonesia are influenced by—and at the same time influence—technological development, its relation to flexibility, and how it affects the bargaining power and the lives of workers.



1 . 2 . 2

DIMENSIONS OF WORK FLEXIBILITY IN THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

Flexible work practices (FWP) are commonly found in the creative industry work ecosystem (Leslie, et al., 2012). Two dimensions of flexibility in the creative industries are closely interrelated: *first*, work flexibility in terms of space and time; *second*, labor market flexibility tied to the precariousness and informality of the workers.

The introduction of flexible work practices can be traced back to the start of the post-Fordism era in the late 1970s, which was characterized by the decline of an end-to-end production of commodities typically centralized in a large factory. Multinational corporations began adopting new strategies to implement a systemic rationalization and flexible production. This strategy is deemed profitable because as the main company, these corporations

can outsource parts of their production to other companies, usually located in Southern countries whose wages are relatively much lower compared to Northern countries (Suwandi, 2019b).

Creative industries also apply this system, although not all products from the creative industries are created using this mode of production. The output of one's creativity is often mass-reproduced in the Fordist style of production in order to maximize profit (Kong, 2014).

However, the key to production in the post-Fordist era creative industries lies in the expertise of the workers, and to a certain extent, this cannot be replaced by machines (Crowley, et al., 2010; Srnicek, 2017). The labor model of the creative industries in the post-Fordist era is based on a piece rate system, which is a wage system based on unit outputs performed (Chand, 2012). Workers who are paid using the piece rate system typically work on a project basis, paving the way for an increasingly flexible working

time and space (Shorthose & Strange, 2004). This piece-rate based mode of production effectively places creative industry workers into the informal worker category.

Work informality has become increasingly common in almost all industrial sectors, along with the rise of labor market flexibility (LMF) under neoliberalism, which has been the main regime of the global labor market from the late 1970s to present day (Bieler, 2010; Harvey, 2007). The rise of LMF in the creative industries has resulted in increased flexploitation—a portmanteau of “flexibility” and “exploitation,” coined by Pierre Bourdieu in 1997—marked by an increase in “intermittent, irregular and informal” work (Shorthose & Strange, 2004). Flexploitation, which is characterized by the emergence of temporary jobs with little to no certainty, plays a role in creating a precarious working condition (Kong, 2014).

Inexperienced workers as well as (unemployed) labor reserves are trapped in a limited labor market (Izzati, 2020a). They are caught between a rock and a hard place: being unemployed or forever working for a low wage and at the same time being highly dispensable with their temporary employment status (Dombols, 2007).

Even so, in today’s era of platform capitalism, labor flexibility is constantly being promoted, and as a result, perceived, in a positive light. Srnicek (2017, p. 1) named one such image as workers being “liberated from the constraints of a permanent career and given the opportunity to make our own way by selling whatever goods and services we might like to offer.” Not surprisingly, many people—especially the younger generation—are drawn toward these so-called flexible work as discussed in the previous section. However, the positive portrayal of platform capitalism does not negate the fact that labor market flexibility puts workers in a precarious situation. Bridges (2018) went as far as to mention that current technology-based industries not only

produce precarious working conditions—on the contrary, it is the precarious working conditions that are the basis of these industries.

1 . 2 . 3

THE PRECARIZATION OF WORKERS UNDER LABOR MARKET FLEXIBILITY

The absence of benefits, social protection, and job security as a result of flexploitation are among the most commonly observed forms of precarization experienced by workers in the creative industries. Several studies have highlighted other impacts of precarious jobs in the creative industries, both on the workers’ physical and mental health. Eikhof & Warhurst (2013, p. 8) has mentioned that “tight deadlines make long and unsocial working hours, including evenings and weekends, the norm rather than the exception.” Meanwhile, a survey conducted by Gil (2002, p. 86) of 125 freelancers in six European countries reported that “despite its cool, non-hierarchical, and egalitarian image,” this sector is characterized by “chronic insecurity, low pay, long hours, and other problems associated with a shift to the individualization of risk.” The wages that they receive are not enough to afford a decent standard of living.

Gil (2002) also cited gender inequality as another feature of these industries. Women’s wages are consistently lower

than that of their male counterparts. This is because in a patriarchal capitalist society, women are socially constructed as additional breadwinners (Mies, 1998; Federici, 2014).

Lorey (2015) expanded the concept of precarity to not only include economic aspects alone. She conducted a rigorous examination of the production process and the inevitability of precariousness by distinguishing between “precariousness”, “precarity”, and “precarization”. Expanding on Judith Butler’s philosophical framework, “precariousness” is defined as any circumstance that is existential, relational, and unavoidable considering that essentially all human beings are vulnerable to disease and accidents. However, precariousness is not experienced equally and similarly. Precarity, the second dimension of precariousness, refers to inequality and uncertainty or insecurity based on social hierarchies in society (class, gender, race, et cetera).

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Meanwhile, precarization is an instrument that creates insecurity or uncertainty and is aimed at making the population become precarious. Precarization allows citizens to be regulated, subjected, and forced to participate as the state demands. According to Lorey (2015, p. 127), precarization has been normalized and internalized through neoliberal logic, resulting in what she referred to as the “self-precarization”.

Polimpung (2018) argued that the main objective of precarization is to direct, co-opt and seize creativity in the interest of accumulating profit and power for the rulers and investors. Polimpung (2018) furthermore added that workers are forced to be creative to survive, yet the fruits of their creativity are not enjoyed by workers themselves, but rather by their employers.

To a certain extent, workers in this industry can still create work according to the values they believe in. However, they

are often deprived of this autonomy. This deprivation of autonomy can be seen in the phenomenon of “artwashing”, which is the hijacking of art and creativity for the sake of gentrification (Mould, 2018). Creativity and art in this context are used for the creation of capital spaces or “trendy” areas that can attract investment (Ibid.). In artwashing, creative industry workers cannot fully exercise their autonomy since their creativity is commodified in service of gentrification. In other words, in artwashing, creative industry workers are faced with the dilemma of upholding their social ethics in the midst of a struggle for survival (Ibid.).

This fact about artwashing contradicts Meulders & Wilkin (1991) who argued that the flexible labor market enables certain positive assumptions, including that workers and employers have relatively equal freedom to make rational exchanges.

The relative autonomy of workers in these industries is also related to the problem of working status. With relative autonomy, workers are often perceived as self employed, and even entrepreneurs, when in fact not all of them are. In Indonesia, this obfuscation of employment relationships takes two forms: first, the designation ‘creative workers’; second, the thriving discourse of entrepreneurship under the gig economy. The obfuscation of working statuses contributes to the precarization of workers.

Furthermore, most workers in the creative industries work at a company or workplace under various employment statuses. These include freelancers, workers with temporary employment contracts, workers with permanent employment contracts, and workers with several employment statuses at once (Izzati, 2020a). The conditions that allow various jobs in the creative industries to be constituted as “shit jobs” (Graeber, 2018) are the same conditions that jeopardize the health and safety of workers, including their mental health (Izzati, 2020a).

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Insecurity, anxiety, and a sense of isolation are among the most common mental conditions faced by workers under flexploitation (Kong, 2014). Furthermore, a workplace that pushes for diversity yet at the same time fails to fulfill basic labor rights, such as a living wage, can be another indication of precarization in the creative industries.

Ultimately, workers have little choice but to keep selling their labor under these precarious conditions (Marx, 1887).

1 . 2 . 4

CLASS POSITION AND THE POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS

Discussing class position is important to put workers in the context of various transformations of work that affect their working and living conditions. This reading is useful for seeing the extent to which the position of workers in the creative industries can influence class consciousness.

According to Standing (2011), the rise of flexible work around the world has created a “class in the making” known as the “precariat”. Foti (2017) explained that the precariat is broadly divided into two categories based on education background. The first category includes workers in the “creative class” such as editors, designers, artists, and programmers who typically charge a much higher rate for their services, and work in the information economy in big cities. The second category belongs to the pink collars.

These are workers who perform the highly feminized administrative or service work, and are often women in the service and franchise sectors (such as cashiers, janitors, “office boys”, chefs, waiters, social media-based online store administrators, customer service workers, et cetera.).

However, the argument that the precariat is a class in the making has been challenged by Wright (2015). According to him, the precariat is not a separate social class even though it is the most developed segment of the working class and the bearer of the deepest sorrows in the fight against capitalism. The precariat, in essence, is part of the working class. Treating the precariat as a distinct class, or even as a “class in the making”, obscures rather than clarifies their position (Ibid.).

Apart from the precariat, another important phenomenon that needs to be considered when it comes to class position is the rising middle class particularly in Southern countries such as India, China, including Indonesia (Therborn, 2020). According to Yates (2018, p. 23), the global middle class includes those whose household income (mostly wage) ranges between the 20th to 70th percentile of the global income distribution. Several other studies, such as one conducted by Banerjee and Duflo (2008), have linked the middle class to stable jobs and adequate access to social protection. However, according to Therborn (2020, p. 80), “existing literature on the middle class often overlooks the systematic injustice generated by today’s post-industrial capitalism.”

The re-examination of job categories, as suggested by Huws (2014), is therefore relevant in determining the class position of workers: those with relatively stable jobs and incomes and those without. For the latter especially, Therborn (2020, p. 86) has argued that the experience of freelancers in the Northern countries is also shared by freelancers in the Southern countries, including Indonesia.

In examining class position, it is also important to analyze the class consciousness of the workers by looking at the extent to which they use their associational power and structural power (Wright, as quoted by Silver, 2008). Associational power refers to the power of the working class in the context of the union; while structural power refers to the strength of the working class in relation to its position in the industry.

In an attempt to analyze the two, this research also asks the informants their perception about labor/trade union. The aim is to understand how informants identify their position within a wider social and political life.

1 . 3

METHODOLOGY: CONDUCTING RESEARCH DURING A PANDEMIC

1 . 3 . 1

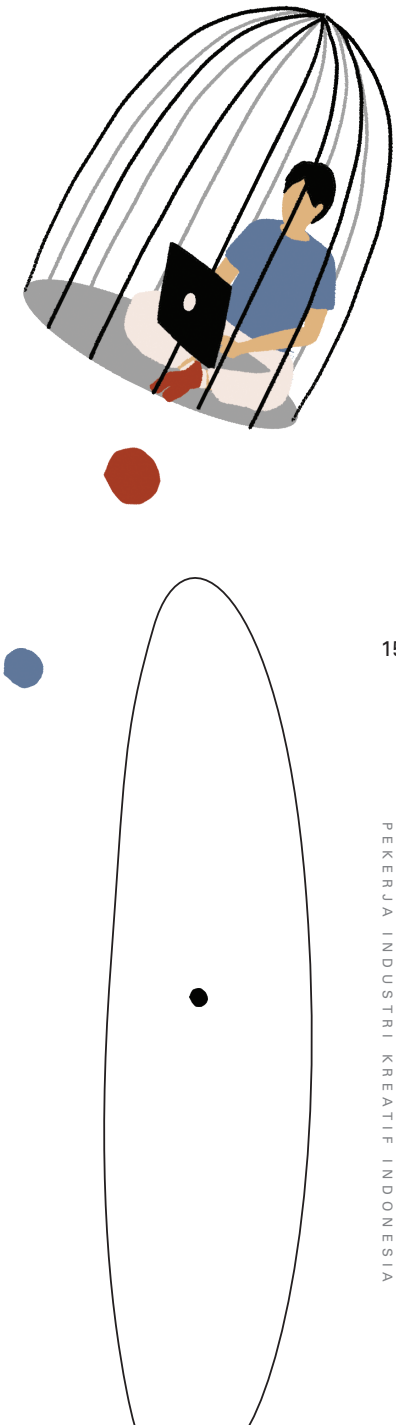
RATIONALE

Initially, the research team opted for an ethnographic approach as the primary methodology to answer our research question. Ethnography is often used in the

iterative-inductive disciplines of anthropology and sociology, which combines a series of research methods that are based on engagement and deep listening to produce “richly written accounts that respect the irreducibility of human experience” (O’Reilly 2009, 3). This approach seeks to listen to and reflect more on human experience, rather than reducing it.

The ethnographic approach and its derivative methods, including ethnographic interviews, can provide a deeper and closer understanding of the complex, plural, and intersectional experiences of the creative industry workers. In addition, the absence of studies on the flexibility and precarity of creative industry workers in Indonesia, especially those that explore the perspective and experience of workers, has strengthened our rationale for choosing this methodology.

Ethnographic interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) were initially selected as techniques for collecting



data and insights in this research. In an ethnographic approach, interviews take the form of natural and egalitarian conversations between the researcher and the research participants or research informants. The result of the ethnographic interview is a product of collaboration between the interviewer and the informant. In the construction site of knowledge (Kvale 1996), the interviewer seeks to understand the informant's perception of the world and their lived experience, as well as their interpretation, meaning, and narrative (Skinner 2012, 9).

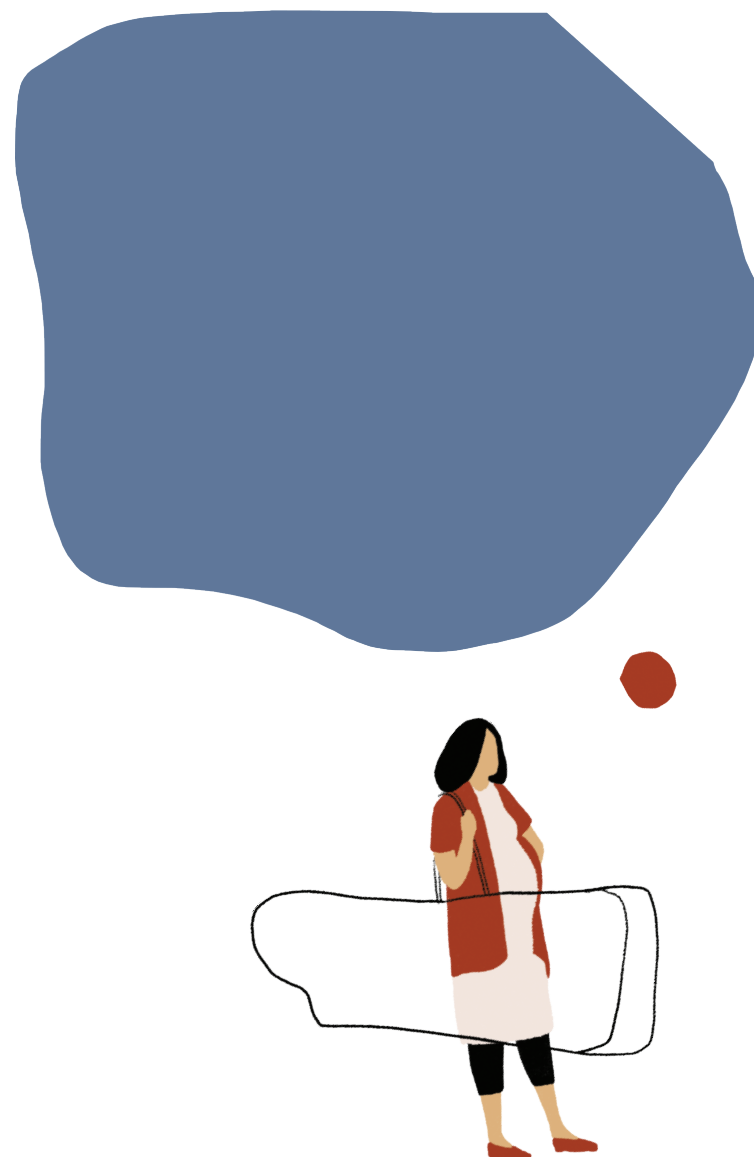
The initial plan was to conduct interviews with a total of fifteen informants, consisting of five informants from each of the three cities selected for this research: Bandung, Jakarta, and Surabaya. Each ethnographic interview was set to run for three to six hours long, with possible follow-up interviews, and would run throughout the course of one year. Meanwhile, an FGD session in Jakarta was initially planned to complement the interviews.

However, when the Covid-19 pandemic struck across the globe in March 2020, we were forced to reconsider our research methodology and cross out any research activities that would require face to face contact with research informants. Under these circumstances, we decided to cancel the FGD, carried out additional individual interviews instead, and moved all in-depth interviews online.

In-depth interviews were carried out by retaining some elements of the ethnographic principles, such as deep listening and deep inquiry, albeit with limited participation. These principles were adapted by focusing on the experiences and perspectives of the research informants in the style of individual semi-structured interviews.

The duration of each interview ranged from two to three hours with a total of sixteen informants. The results of the in-depth interviews were then analyzed using the literature

review framework as discussed in the previous section. The final results of this research analysis is presented in the form of a sociological academic paper and a policy paper.



1 . 3 . 2

RESEARCH INFORMANTS

The selection of research informants rests on the criteria we have compiled based on a preliminary reading of existing research on the flexibility and precarity of creative industry workers. We also took into account the sixteen creative economy subsectors recognized by Bekraf in 2015 and contextualized the current conditions of creative industry workers. For instance, we included service jobs into the culinary sub sector—which has the biggest contribution (41.69%) to the creative economy GDP (DetikNews.com). We also considered an informant who works as a freelance journalist as a creative industry worker, given that their occupation is closely related to the proliferation of work in the “creative” field or cognitive, technology, and research-based work.

In addition to considering professional backgrounds that are relevant to the research

question, we also imposed several other criteria, including an age range of 18-45 years old, gender representation, and official residence in the three selected cities: Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. The three cities were selected as they represent metropolitan areas in Indonesia and are commonly perceived as “creative cities” (Kota Kreatif.id, 2019).

In selecting the informants for this study, we relied on the social networks of the individual researchers. The final list of informants were obtained once they have expressed their written consent prior to the interview.

The confidentiality of all informants in this research is and shall remain protected. Each informant was assigned the following codenames.

TABLE 1.

**LIST OF RESEARCH
INFORMANTS**

No.	Name	City	Gender	Occupation/Workplace
1	1.B.	Bandung	W	Freelance wedding decorator
2	1.S.	Bandung	W	Illustrator
3	1.J.	Jakarta	M	Video editor
4	2. B.	Bandung	W	Craft worker & culinary enthusiast
5	2.S.	Surabaya	M	Printing staff & graphic designer
6	2.J.	Jakarta	M	Freelance journalist
7	3.B.	Bandung	M	Illustrator

8	3.S.	Surabaya	W	Event organizer & music management
9	3.J.	Jakarta	W	Advertising agency employee
10	4.B.	Bandung	W	Photographer & artist
11	4.S.	Surabaya	W	Cafe admin & cashier
12	4.J.	Jakarta	W	Self-employed artist, owner of an Instagram online store
13	5.B.	Bandung	M	Sound engineer, musician
14	5.S.	Surabaya	W	Software developer
15	5.J.	Jakarta	M	IT worker
16	1.F. (replacement for FGD)	Jakarta	W (transgender, pronoun: she/her)	Translator and script editor

Source: compiled by the research team.

The above table shows that the proportion of female informants (W) is higher than that of their male (M) counterparts, and one of the informants for the FGD-substitute session is a trans woman.

1 . 3 . 3

RESEARCH METHODS AND REFLECTIONS ON DATA COLLECTION

As discussed in the previous section, the primary method selected for data collection was virtual and in-depth semi-structured individual interviews using a prepared list of guiding questions. The questionnaire is divided into five sections: *first*, biography; *second*, working conditions; *third*, perceptions and experiences regarding work flexibility; *fourth*, perceptions and experiences on precariousness; and *fifth*, perspectives related to labor policies, social security and labor/trade unions. Online interviews were conducted with all informants between April 28 and June 20, 2020.

The virtual meeting platforms used for the interviews varied according to each informant's preference and access, including Google Meet, Jitsi, and WhatsApp video call. Each interview ran between two to three hours long using open-ended questions, and was recorded in an audio format for transcription purposes with the informant's written consent.

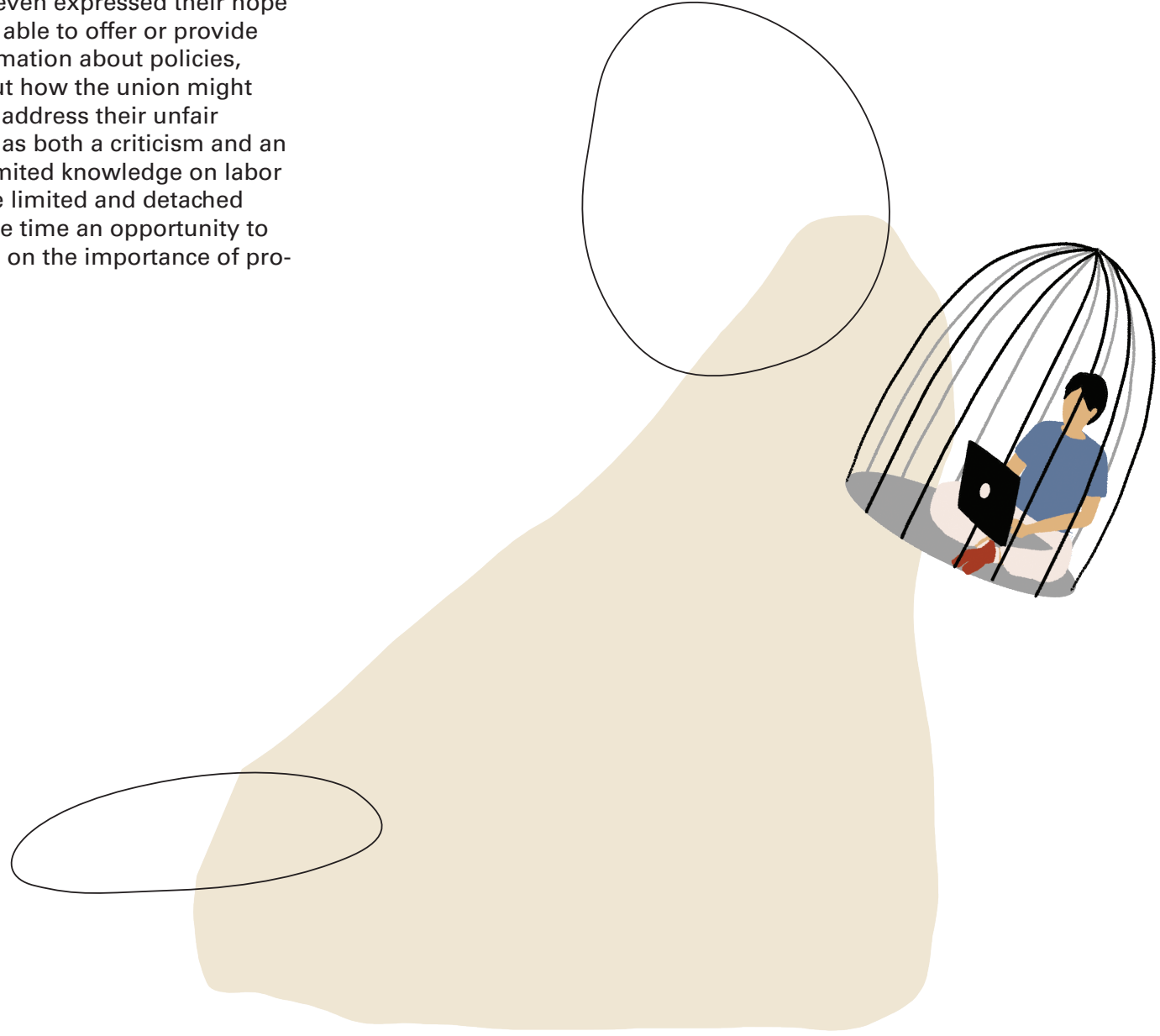
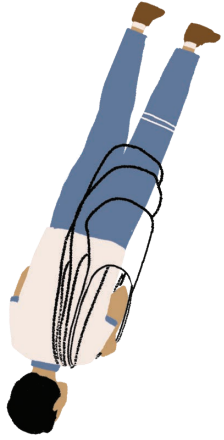
The transcript of each interview was then coded using a line-by-line coding approach (Glaser, 1978). This approach was used to help detect emerging themes which we identified as "recurring regularities" (Patton, 2002) to be analyzed thematically. To complement this research, we referred to secondary data sources obtained from desk research and policy research, particularly for the literature review and analysis sections.

Conducting research during a pandemic certainly posed a number of challenges, both in terms of research approach and research process. Moving the in-depth interviews online brought certain limitations when it comes to keeping informants comfortable, especially given the long duration of the interviews. We were also aware of the inconvenience caused by the research team for taking much of the informants' time. Therefore, we decided against conducting follow-up interviews with the informants.

Furthermore, informants tended to seem more restrained in giving their responses, especially when they had no prior rapport with their interviewer. As a consequence, it took them longer to be able to express their views and experiences openly, especially in the early parts of the interview. However, challenges in building a rapport and allowing flexibility certainly did not occur to research informants who had previously known the research team. Moving the interviews online also presented its own unique challenges, such as unstable internet connection and inconsistent sound and video quality.

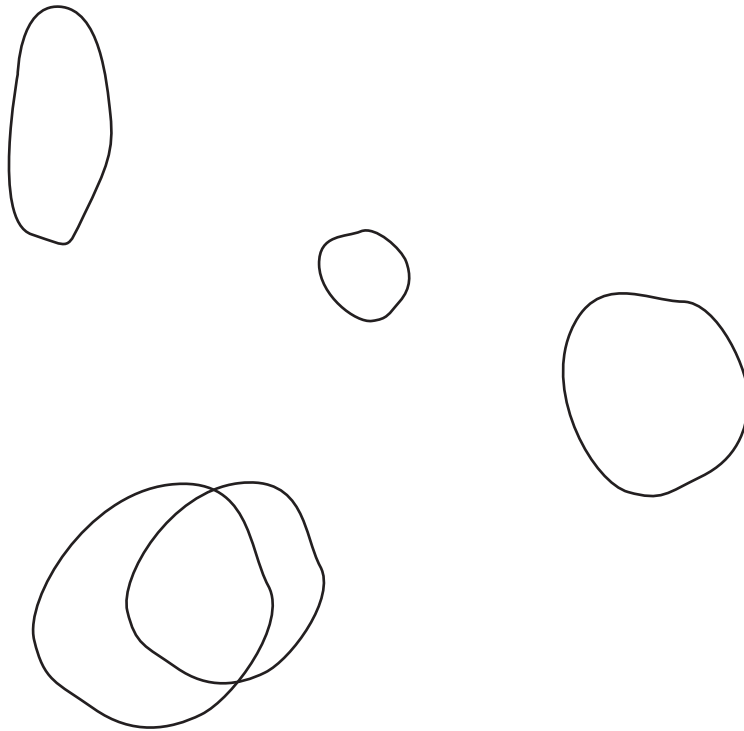
Another challenge worth noting is the researcher's positionality, especially given that the method selected for this research was in-depth interview. Since the majority of the research team are creative industry workers themselves, not to mention that most are registered union members at SINDIKASI, we found that almost all of the informants

felt a sense of camaraderie among fellow workers. In some instances, the informants even expressed their hope that the research team would be able to offer or provide solutions, soliciting further information about policies, labor regulations, or asking about how the union might be able to resolve injustices and address their unfair working conditions. We see this as both a criticism and an opportunity: A criticism of our limited knowledge on labor issues and policies as well as the limited and detached role of the union, and at the same time an opportunity to build awareness among workers on the importance of pro-working class policies.



THE CREATIVE INDUSTRY ECOSYSTEM IN INDONESIA

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2.1

WHAT IS THE CREATIVE INDUSTRY?

The incorporation of creative industries and creative economy into a national-level policy was first initiated in the United Kingdom through the Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS). At the time, the term “creative industries” was used to replace “cultural industries” (Mommaas 2009, 51; O’Connor 2011, p. 38). This change reflects a broadening scope of cultural industry policies, providing an opportunity to advance a creative industry agenda that is otherwise distinct from cultural industry policies. For example, the creative industries are now defined to include the entertainment, fashion, design businesses—sub sectors that were not previously considered as part of the cultural industries. In the following years, interest in the creative industries in economic and social policies continued to increase and spread to other countries—along with the commodification of artistic and creative aspects.

But what exactly is the creative economy and creative industries? According to DCMS, whose policies have been quite influential in shaping similar policies in other countries, creative industries are those that originate from individual creativity, skills and talents that have the potential to create wealth and jobs through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (DCMS 2001, p. 04). However, according to Kong (2014), policy implementation

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and sub sector classification in the creative industries often change (as seen in Table 2) and vary from country to country.

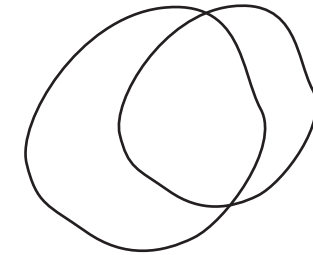
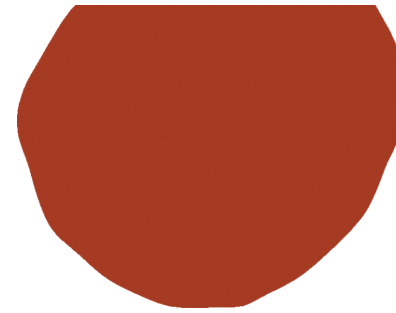


TABLE 2 .

**SUBSECTOR CHANGES
IN THE UK'S CREATIVE
ECONOMY POLICY**

2002, under DCMS	2015, under DCMS
1. Advertising	1. Advertising and marketing
2. Architecture	2. Architecture
3. Art and Antiques	3. Craft
4. Craft	4. Design: products, graphics and fashion

5. Design

5. Film, TV, video, radio and photography

6. Fashion

6. IT, software, and computer services

7. Film & video

7. Publishing

8. Music

8. Museums, galleries and libraries

9. Performance Arts

9. Music, performance and visual arts

10. Publishing

11. Software

12. Television and radio

13. Video and computer games

Source: DCMS

As discussed in the previous chapter, it is very difficult to reach a universal definition of creative industries as there is no consensus on which sub sectors can be considered as part of the creative industries. In other words, there is no international classification system for the creative industries. Therefore, the term “creative industries” has different meanings in different countries. Definition may even vary from region to region within a single country (Banks and O’Connor 2009, 366). For example, the classification of creative industries in Asia and Australia tends to be broader and can include industries such as online gaming and even wedding organizing. The lack of consistent definitions and classifications make it difficult to collect accurate and comparable data across different times and locations.

In Indonesia, the official classification of the creative industry subsectors are shown in Table 3. In the policy realm, discourse, programs, and regulations on the creative industries were first introduced in 2007 during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration through a 2008 blueprint which was later adopted as a national policy through the Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2009 under the domain of Ministry of Trade. In 2011, authority on the creative industries was transferred to the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, and the culinary subsector was subsequently included in the classification (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, 2011). In 2015, under the Jokowi administration, the application and game development subsector was added, and the design subsector was further developed into three separate subsectors: interior design, visual communication, and product design; this classification still applies to this day (as listed on the official website of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, <https://www.kememparekraf.go.id/>).

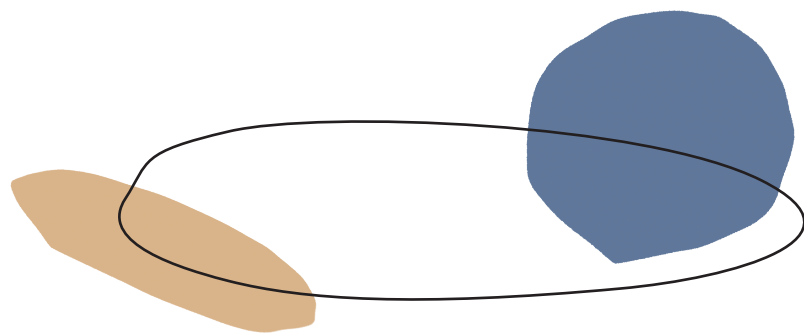
TABLE 3 .
SUBSECTOR CHANGES IN
INDONESIA'S CREATIVE
ECONOMY POLICY

2009	2011	2015
(under the Ministry of Trade)	(under the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy)	(initially under the Creative Economy Agency, before being returned to the Ministry of Tourism & Creative Economy in 2019)
1. Advertising 2. Architecture 3. Art and Antiques 4. Craft 5. Design 6. Fashion 7. Film, video and photography 8. Interactive games 9. Music 10. Performance Arts 11. Publishing 12. Computer services and software 13. Radio and television 14. Research and development	1. Advertising 2. Architecture 3. Art and Antiques 4. Craft 5. Design 6. Fashion 7. Film, video and photography 8. Interactive games 9. Music 10. Performance Arts 11. Printing and publishing 12. Computer services and software 13. Radio and television 14. Research and development 15. Culinary	1. Application and game development 2. Architecture 3. Interior design 4. Visual communication design 5. Product design 6. Fashion 7. Film, animation, video 8. Photography 9. Craft 10. Culinary 11. Music 12. Publishing 13. Advertising 14. Performance Arts 15. Visual arts 16. Television and radio

Source: Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2009, Kememparekraf 2011, and Presidential Regulation No. 69 of 2019.

As shown in Table 3, Research and Development was removed from the classification in the most recent regulation, even though creative industries are defined as industries which produce creative and innovative works that can generate intellectual property and economic benefits. The scientific subsector, which certainly generates intellectual property rights and economic benefits, was eliminated from the creative industry sub-sector classification. It is consistent with Scott (2013), who argued that the discourse and analysis of creative industries often focus on appearance, aesthetics, media, and culture, but largely ignore scientific fields and research that bring innovation and generate intellectual property rights. This demonstrates how the creative industries, their definition, and classification can be very unclear, fluctuating, expanding or narrowing depending on the prevailing policies, and can overlap with different sectors.

Taking these things into account, in this study, we use the term “creative industries” to not only include the sixteen subsectors that are officially defined by the state, but also various other sectors that directly intersect with them. In particular, in this study, we also highlight the intersection of the gig economy in the creative industries and its consequences.



2 . 2

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND THEIR INTERSECTION WITH THE GIG ECONOMY

The gig economy is generally understood to include two forms of work, namely (1) crowdsourcing work or crowd work such as Amazon, MTurk (Irani, 2015; Gray & Suri, 2019), and (2) work on-demand or work that is performed based on orders via applications (De Stefano, 2016) . Woodcock and Graham (2020) defined the gig economy as:

“A labor market characterized by independent contracts through, using, and on digital platforms. The kind of work offered is contingent: casual and non-permanent employment. It may have variable job hours and little job security, involve payment on a piece-work basis, and lack any options for career development.”

The rise of the gig economy, according to Woodcock and Graham (2020), symbolizes the way work and living conditions are changing due to digital technology. Across the world, especially in big cities, including in Indonesia, this is evident in the way that applications such as GoJek and Grab are changing lives and working conditions. However, upon further investigation, this sector forms only a relatively small proportion of Indonesia’s economy, as is the case in Northern countries (Srnicek, 2017). Obviously, the focus of this research cannot be limited to workers in the information technology sector or works that occur through digital platforms alone.

The term “gig” originally referred to the gig system in

the music and performing industry, a typical short-term agreement found in music shows, where “the musician might celebrate getting a gig, or tell a friend that they’ve got a gig in the back room of a pub or other venue,” in which there is no certainty about when their next gig or performance will be (Woodcock & Graham, 2020, p. 16-17) . By performing at these gigs, they may receive payment or compensation (whether in the form of wages, profit sharing, or in-kind payment such as free food, drinks, cigarettes, et cetera.). Their expenses, such as transportation, might get covered. But also, they might not. In other words, there is no certainty.

Woodcock and Graham (2020) underlined that working in a digital gig economy can be very different from musical gigs. It should also be noted that while online digital platforms offer the potential to connect multiple employers with workers anywhere, the digital labor market has asymmetrical working relationships and very uneven spatial patterns. Employers and workers do not have the same opportunity or possibility to see and participate in this market (Graham & Anwar, 2019). For example, there is a lot of invisible work to be done behind the automation of application programming interfaces and artificial intelligence (such as social media moderation, fixing points on maps, translating subtitles, et cetera.) through digital platform infrastructures like Amazon MTurk (Gray & Suri, 2019). Particularly in the context of Southern countries where access to the internet, electricity and various public utilities is very unequal, complex coordination involving both digital and analog devices is required; tools and devices like WhatsApp, GSM phones, paper receipts, motorbikes, and their workers who use them: the couriers, motorcycle taxi drivers, messaging/social media application (WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook) altogether make up part of the infrastructure of the digital platform economy (Jack et al 2017; Izzati 2020b).

In other words, although digital platforms and the internet help facilitate a variety of jobs, not all work can then be done entirely online and remotely. Although some jobs can be done completely remotely by relying solely on an internet connection and digital device (designing logos, illustrations, et cetera.) through crowdsourcing platforms such as Amazon MTurk and Fiverr, some jobs remain geographically tethered, such as online ojek (ojol) drivers, on-demand work, or the provision of work (food delivery, massage services, cleaning, et cetera.) by orders via applications. Even for work that is geographically bound, we can see aspects of gender and differences in terms of value, visibility, and violence (Van Doorn 2017), where on-demand domestic workers (cleaners, massage workers, et cetera.) gain much lower value and visibility compared to ojol drivers.

Furthermore, parallel situations can be observed even in sectors that do not rely on digital platforms: short term arrangements, a lack of contracts, uncertainty of payments, dependence on personal networks, and little to no guarantee of career advancement, among others. The term gig economy here is therefore not limited to jobs on digital platforms, but also the rise of arrangements like short-term contracts, or even those without contracts—compared to permanent or fixed term employment—in the digital era. As a result, the gig economy affects our social life and even society as a whole. This situation, as mentioned earlier, is a manifestation of what is known as flexploitation.

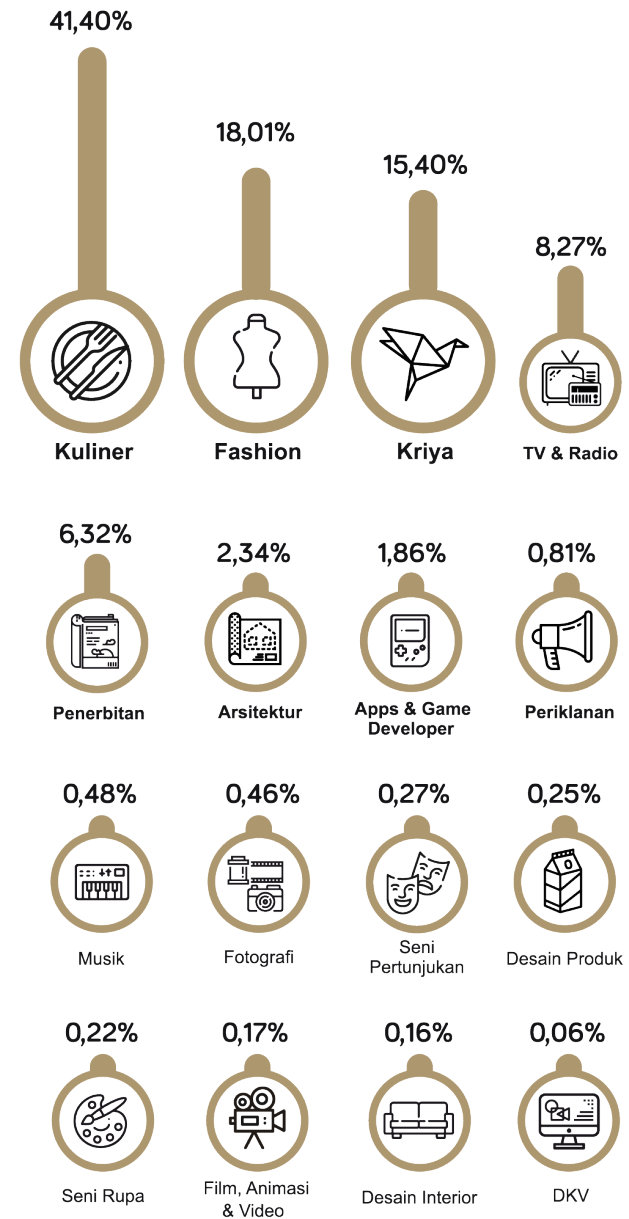
2 . 3

OVERVIEW OF THE CREATIVE INDUSTRY ECOSYSTEM IN INDONESIA

According to data released by BPS in collaboration with Bekraf (2016), the contribution of the creative economy to GDP was 7.66% in 2010 and 7.44% in 2016. Subsectors with the largest contributions are culinary (41.40%), fashion (18.01%), and crafts (15.40%). On the other hand, subsectors that are often associated with the “creative class” (Florida, 2002) and cognitive work, the creation of cultural values (knowledge, cultural production), or “immaterial labor” (Lazarrato, 1996; Hardt & Negri 2000, 2004)—such as design (product 0.25%, interior 0.16%, visual communication 0.06%), application and game development (1.86%), film, animation and video (0.17%), music (0.48%)—make up only a small contribution to GDP (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1.

CREATIVE ECONOMY'S CONTRIBUTION TO GDP BY SUBSECTOR

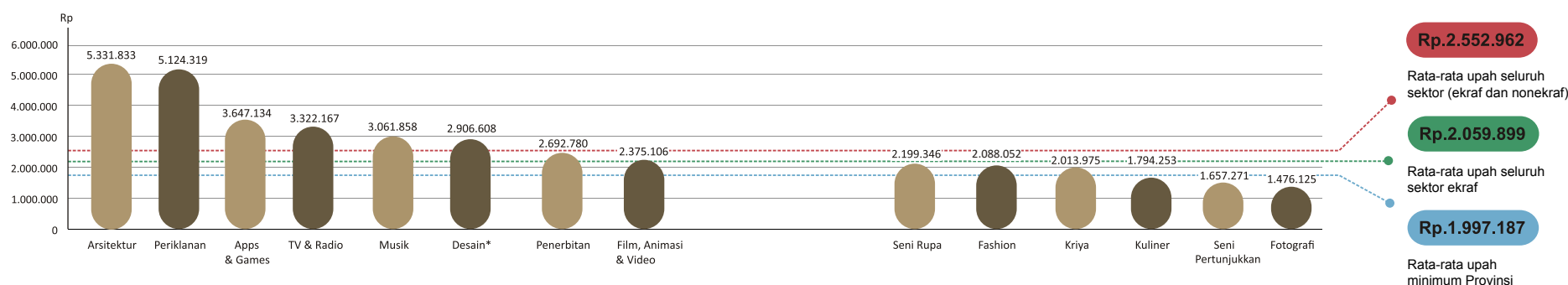


Source: Creative Economy Agency and BPS, 2016.

This data indicates a big gap between the grandiose depiction of the creative workforce—who are often identified as self-programmable, white collar, entrepreneurial: app/ game developers, journalists, designers, product managers, researchers—and the reality that these workers make up less than 7% of the workforce in Indonesia. Statistics from Bekraf & BPS (2016) reveal that the majority of creative economy workers in Indonesia actually consist of blue collar workers (93.09%); while white collar workers, “professionals, technicians, and those working in related fields” only make up 6.91% of the workforce, less than half of the proportion of Indonesian white collar workers as a whole (14.98%).

It should also be noted that the 93.09% proportion of blue collar workers above refers not only to male workers in manufacturing, but also includes low-wage workers in the service sector (sales, service businesses, and production workers) who are often women and associated with feminized labor—a status also known as “pink collar” (Freeman, 2000). The composition and feminization of this workforce is important to note considering that the proportion of female workers in the creative economy is much higher (55.74%) than the overall proportion of female workers in the Indonesian national economy (38.40%).

FIGURE 2 . AVERAGE WAGES OF CREATIVE ECONOMY WORKERS BY SUBSECTOR



Rata-rata upah di sektor ekraf lebih tinggi dari rata-rata upah minimum provinsi, namun lebih kecil dari rata-rata upah seluruh sektor.

Source: Creative Economy Agency and BPS, 2016.

The pink-collar job boom has been widely discussed globally along with changes in technology (McLaughlin, 1983), the rise of service industry, and the decline and aging of agriculture and manufacturing workforce (Howe 2017). Various parallels can be seen in Indonesia, where a shift from agriculture and manufacturing to services has occurred in the last five decades, and is often considered a “normal trajectory” of industrialization in which the majority of the workforce will enter the service sector.

However, according to Habibi (2014, p. 24-25), the main difference between Indonesia and developed economies lies in the high number of workers in the informal economy, comprising 63% of the total Indonesian workforce across all subsectors, and are effectively considered as precarious workers: *“These workers mostly involve in the unproductive jobs with precarious condition. . . as relative surplus population”* (Habibi 2014, p.26). Although most of the



precarious workers consist of micro-entrepreneurs and family workers or unpaid agricultural laborers, informal entrepreneurs/workers in the non-agricultural sector also contribute a sizeable proportion of the surplus population, i.e. around eleven million, including “small traders (food, clothing, et cetera.), and craft workers such as pottery, woodcraft, et cetera.” – which correspond to the culinary, fashion, and craft subsectors in the creative industries.

It should be noted that the discourse on the creative economy emerged in Indonesia around the same time as entrepreneurship was being heavily emphasized in national policies, education, as well as in the discourse narrated by the World Bank and the International Labor Organization (Naafs, 2012). There is actually little, if any, evidence that these entrepreneurial policies increase job prospects or income (Dhanani, et al. 2009, p. 80).

The creative industry statistics in Indonesia (Bekraf & BPS 2016), for instance, reported that the culinary sub sector contributes the largest share of the creative economy GDP (41.4%), with the second largest subsector, fashion, only 18.01%, and the game and app development only 1.86%. Similarly, the culinary sub sector holds the largest number of business units (5,550,960, while the sub sector with the second largest business units, fashion, only has 1,230,988). However, the average wage of workers in the culinary subsector is among the lowest in the spectrum at Rp1,794,253.00, which falls below the average provincial minimum wage (Rp1,997,187.00) and the average wage of all economic sub sectors (Rp2,059,899.00). In fact, this rate is also below the average wage across all sectors in Indonesia (Rp2,552,962.00) (Figure 2).

The creative economy ecosystem in Indonesia is also dominated by micro businesses: 95.59% of creative businesses consist of only one to four people. The remaining 3.88% consist of 5-19 people, 0.46% 20-99 people, and only 0.07% consist of one hundred people or more. Furthermore, 96.61% of businesses in the creative economy are not incorporated (although some might have obtained special licenses) and only a handful (3.86%) of these businesses have some form of financial statements. This is consistent with the general picture of the Indonesian economy, where more than 98% consist of micro and small enterprises. With this ecosystem, it is very difficult for most creative businesses in Indonesia to compete with multinational franchises equipped with mass production capacities. In the words of Informant 1.B.,

“Local brands do not stand a chance against foreign brands who have entered freely in Indonesia: H&M, Uniqlo, and the likes. They are simply way ahead. It’s a huge challenge for [local brands]. On the other hand, they are constantly demanded to be more creative.”

Only 0.26% of the creative economy businesses throughout Indonesia apply a franchise system, and a majority (80.01%) of these businesses are in the culinary sub sector. However, considering that income from the culinary sub-sector is still below the average minimum wage, one might question whether the franchise model helps increase the workers’ welfare and income.

This is in line with the testimony by Informant 4.S, who works as a cashier at a cafe in Surabaya. Even though the cafe has a turnover of 120-300 million per month, her daily pay is only Rp50,000 with rotating eight-hour shifts, which does not include preparations for opening and cleaning up after closing that can take an additional one to two hours. Her case is not an anomaly: it is common knowledge that the wages of cafe workers are largely below district/ city or even provincial minimum wage standards, despite increasing demand for cafe workers in big cities. It is also common for these workers to have no employment contract, or to work under an extremely low daily wage calculation system without any health or safety insurance. Therefore, it needs to be questioned whether creative economy policies have played a role in increasing the income and welfare of workers, or the other way around: that the large GDP contribution of the creative economy is built upon low-paid workers who receive below the provincial average minimum wage.

According to Qiu et al. (2014), in the West and several East Asian countries, the contradiction between the self-programmable labor (who is flexible, enjoys higher education, and is highly paid) and the disposable generic labor blue collar or pink collar (low paid) becomes much sharper. Meanwhile, in Southern countries, including India and China, white collar workers enter middle-rank jobs: jobs that require higher education, but without guaranteed job security or equal pay. In Taiwan, for example, the term “pink collar” (*fenling*) or “pink-collared new aristocracy” (*fenling*)

xingui) emerged in the last decade to describe a new “class” of urban women with a cosmopolitan outlook and a hip profession that previous generations of women found extremely difficult to find (Huang 2008).

However, the situation is different in Southern countries, where pink collar workers with cheap or irregular pay can be found working in digital media, and their “trendy” professions seem to have become an aspiration to many young people: influencers, Youtubers, et cetera. (Hempel 2019). These figures own social networking capital, are influential in the media, and play an important role in building a personal and business brand in the creative industry arena. However, more and more research has shown that having a following (which could reach thousands or millions) along with the glamorous image as a social media influencer often does not reflect one’s level of income (Duffy, 2017). Furthermore, being an influencer requires a kind of capital: digital equipment and capable lighting to process media (photos, videos, writings), and as one informant said, “extensive networking, where you have to stand out in Jakarta, right at the epicenter” (1.B.), not to mention a good command of English is essential when targeting the international market (3.S).

Going beyond the problems of the creative industry labor ecosystem requires a clearer reading of the position of the working class that is rooted in the economic situation and historical background in Indonesia, and its implications for the social life of workers. Among the aspects worth highlighting is the discrepancy between the perceived image and actual reality of the creative workforce, which is often associated as white collars, immaterial/cognitive workers (developers, journalists, designers, artists) who in fact are only less than seven percent of the creative industry workforce. Meanwhile, more than ninety percent of them are the low paid blue collar or pink collar workers working

in craft, sales, marketing, et cetera.

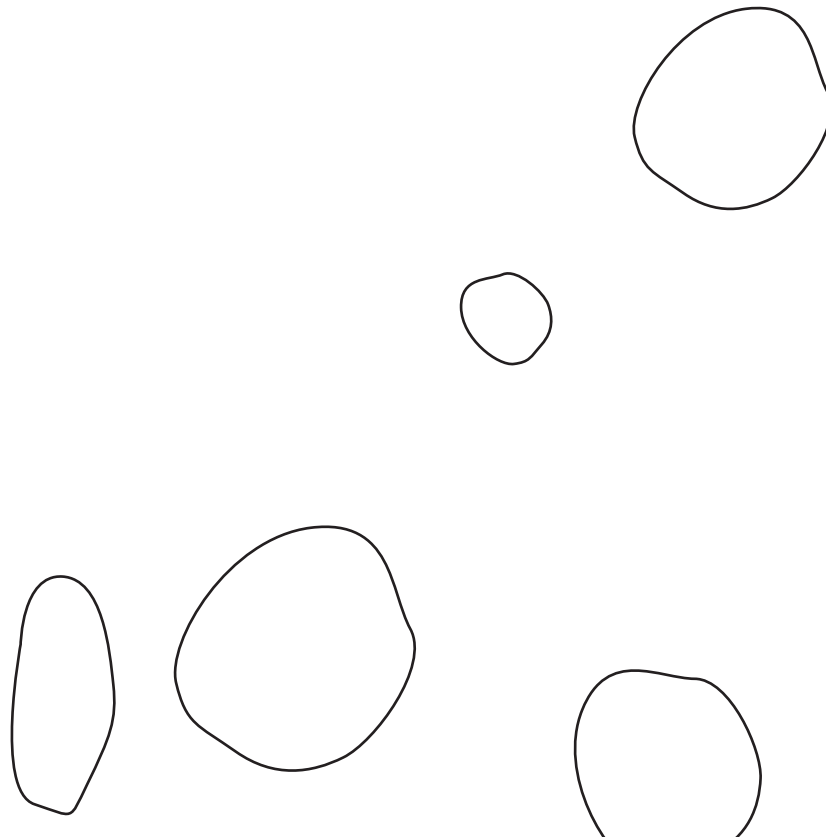
Workers who are in the cultural production such as artists and designers may enjoy greater cultural and social capital (for example through better access to education and information, social/media networks and visibility, et cetera.) than those who work in production or sales in the culinary, fashion, and craft subsectors. Even so, what needs to be underlined is that the majority of workers in the creative economy are faced with very uncertain working conditions, low wages, and a lack of health insurance or occupational safety protection. This issue will be discussed in more depth in the following chapters.



GENERAL RESEARCH FINDINGS :

WORKER'S BACKGROUND AND
DESCRIPTION OF WORKING
CONDITIONS

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3 . 1

WORKER'S
BACKGROUND

In order to fully understand the creative workers' perception and experience of work flexibility and precariousness in this study, we must first explore their background and determine whether and how it affects these factors.

Of the sixteen informants, 90% holds a bachelor's degree, while the rest are SMK (Vocational High School) and D3 (Diploma-3) graduates. Although most of them have a bachelor's degree and are not fresh graduates, at the time of the interview, only two informants lived in a rented property, two in a rented bedroom, and one lived in a house gifted to them by their parents. Half of the informants still lived in their parents' house or family property. One informant stated that she did not want nor plan to buy a house using a home loan scheme such as the Home Ownership Loan (KPR) because she felt she would not be able to afford it.

"Buying a house is tough. I would rather rent than pay for a house in installments. I do want a house, but maybe later when I'm more settled. Maybe in my forties, fifties, when I can't possibly rent anymore, maybe then I would have to live in my own house. But if I buy a house at fifty, when will I be able to pay it off?" (1.B.)

More than sixty percent of the informants are independent workers or freelancers who are allowed to work from home, while the rest are required to work in an office or workplace. Informants with a freelancer status work in illustration,

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music, journalism, IT, writing, and events (event or wedding organizing). Meanwhile, those who work independently operate a home business— usually in the culinary sector— and sell their work through social media-based online stores.

As many as 75% of informants said that they had to take several jobs at once—some referred to these jobs as odd jobs—because one was often not enough to make ends meet. One informant works as a freelance wedding decorator who moonlights as a shoe business consultant and event organizer for workshops. Apart from earning additional income by working for other people, some also run their own small-scale independent production business.

“I don’t own my own store, but [my wife] bakes cakes and sells them to stores. In my previous job, my shift starts at nine. So, early in the morning I would go around and deliver these cakes to these stores until it’s time to get to work.” (2.S.)

With these mostly independent or freelance work statuses, it is not surprising that more than 60% of informants do not have health insurance as it is usually provided by employers.

Another important aspect that came to light in this research is how family background, or family capital, affects the perspectives, choices, and experiences of the informants regarding flexible and precarious working conditions. About 25% of the informants came from families that were not very well off, meaning they were also responsible to provide for their families. More than 50% of the informants came from relatively well-off families. Coming from a “well-off” family here means having no dependents: most of the informants who came from these families even have access to capital, such as staying in a family house or a house loaned by a family member.

Having a “well-off” family plays a significant role in their decision to take up jobs that are completely uncertain, such as jobs in art, music, or freelance jobs in general. This decision often contributes to what Lorey (2015) called as self-precarization or self-imposed precarization, where precariousness is normalized and internalized as an individual’s own responsibility which can lead to downward social mobility, or the “lowering” of one’s social class.

“I would say based on my income level that I’m middle to lower class. I can live comfortably only because of my parents’ support. My parents are upper class.” (1.B)

Apart from family capital, almost half of the informants admitted having relied on other forms of social capital to land a gig/job, such as friendships, acquaintances, networking, and community. In several cases, the informants also explained how as casual workers, maintaining networks with a limited pool of regular employers can serve as a safety net since there will always be people who need their services or products. On the other hand, in order to maintain this network and preserve their social capital, they often resort to slashing their price or their service rates, effectively putting themselves in a precarious position.

Apart from direct access to jobs, another advantage of having this social capital is the access to getting published and recognized on their network’s social media. This has opened up job opportunities for some informants, especially those who use social media as a platform to showcase their work or products.

3 . 2

WORKING CONDITIONS

Following a brief overview of the informants' backgrounds, in this section we will describe in more detail the working conditions of the informants, which will be divided into five sections. *First*, casual employment contracts; *second*, the absence of social security and health insurance, and hidden costs; *third*, working hours, work load, and workplace exploitation; *fourth*, wage issues including low wages; and *fifth*, career uncertainty and a desire for stability.

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3 . 2 . 1

CASUAL EMPLOYMENT CONTRACTS

"The most recent job I landed was via WhatsApp from a friend," said one informant, who is a writer based in Bandung. Casual employment contracting is one of the most apparent working conditions experienced by the informants in this study. More than 60% of the informants in this study are freelancers, and they admitted to having worked without a written agreement with their employer. According to them, this usually happens since their work is casual or based on friendship and trust.

Several informants are independent workers, so they do not need a contract for themselves. Others are not given a contract despite their status as permanent workers. Even if there was a contract, several informants admitted that the contents of the agreement can be easily violated by the employer. For example, some were forced to work longer hours than they agreed to, while some received their payment late or were given more than their assigned workload.

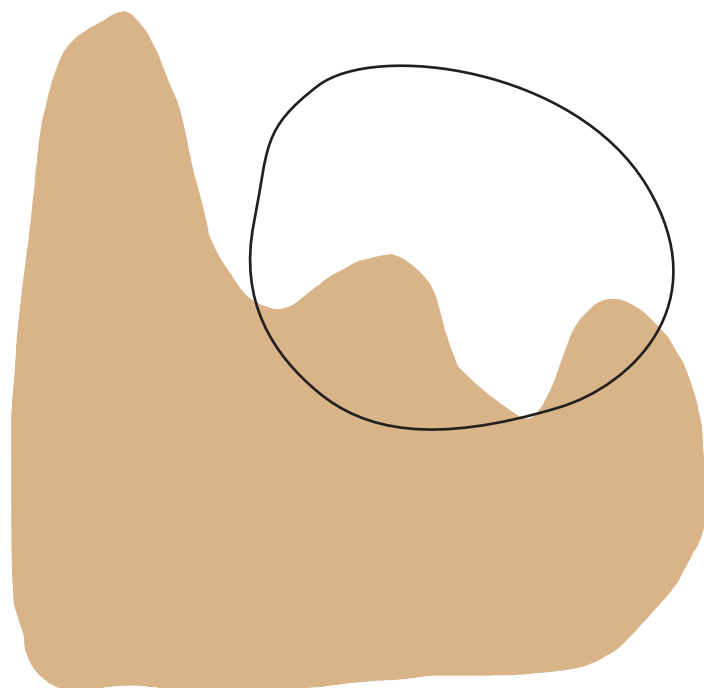
"In one instance, I've stated that I would allow a maximum of three revisions. After that, I would have to charge extra. But most of them didn't care. [After three revisions, the client said:] 'Is it really the third time now?' They act like they didn't know." (5.B)

More than half of the informants chose to stay without a contract in order to have access to income. Despite being aware that the absence of a clear employment contract

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leaves more room for exploitation in the workplace, informants tended to normalize and accept this precarization in order to stay working.

According to Lorey (2015), this form of self-imposed precarization has transformed into a governance under the neoliberalist economy. Moreover, what these informants experience is an impact of the flexible labor market that has developed since the late 1970s (Vosko 2000; Albo 2010). In this era, the cultural industries have shifted from a mode of production based on permanent and fixed working conditions to ones that are more precarious. These can range from part-time, temporary, casual, contract-based and freelance work with long working hours, no health or social security, low wages and no access to unions (Cohen 2012).



3 . 2 . 2

THE ABSENCE OF SOCIAL SECURITY AND HEALTH INSURANCE, AND THE BURDEN OF HIDDEN COSTS

As many as 62.5% of the informants stated that they did not receive BPJS or other forms of health insurance benefits from their employer. One of the informants who receives health benefits works in the human resources department at a prominent advertising agency in Jakarta, and is among the few informants whose income is relatively more stable compared to the rest.

Informants who do not have insurance work as freelancers, while some are also employed at an office or institution.

“In my experience, my insurance has never been covered. We pay for our own insurance.” (2.J)

“There is no social security whatsoever. None at all. It’s all on me. All they (employers) know is this is how much they pay me, and that’s it.” (5.B)

Workers consider getting health insurance as part of their personal responsibility. This, as with the case of working with unclear employment contracts discussed in the previous section, is a form of normalized precarization.

“I think for now it’s more about making sure that I take care of my own health. I mean, even if I did have insurance, how much of my medical expenses will be covered, anyway? Right?” (2.B)

Apart from being unable to pay for private insurance, several informants appeared to distrust BPJS and chose not to have any health insurance at all. Maintaining physical and mental health then becomes their only strategy to overcome the lack of a social safety net.

Another form of self-precarization is bearing the hidden costs of working. This was experienced by most of the informants. Freelancers, for instance, do not normally include operational costs of using their own means of production in their wage component or invoices.

“Laptops, paper and stationery—as sometimes I like to write things down, internet connection, hard drives, I provide everything myself.” (5.B.)

“[The coworking space] I pay for it myself. I think this comes out of the guilt that I wasn’t doing enough for this music project, I was busy working on other projects, so I felt that I had to take responsibility [and pay for the cost of coworking space].” (4.S.)

Those who pay for these hidden costs out of their own pocket end up receiving wages that are disproportionate to their workload.



3 . 2 . 3

WORKING HOURS, WORKLOAD, AND WORKPLACE EXPLOITATION

Most of the informants who are freelancers have flexible working hours. They can adjust their working hours according to situation, for example dividing them into several shifts when working from home, and use the time in between shifts to work on other projects. This relative autonomy is usually one of the reasons why someone chooses to work freelance and avoids rigid employment relationships (Cohen 2012).

Although freelancing is often considered an opportunity to gain freedom (Pink, 2001), it is also an ideal working condition for perpetuating exploitative work relationships. Quite a number of informants felt that these working conditions forced them to work outside normal hours. This was experienced by one of the informants who works in IT.

“I test websites to check for vulnerabilities. I was asked to work on it from two to three in the morning. [Because] most of the time people don’t access the web during these hours [so it’s the perfect time to conduct web vulnerability testing].” (5.J.)

Similarly, event-based workers (1.B; 4.S) have to work on weekends, until dawn, with little sleep, spending a lot of time on the road.

“I would stay up three to four days without sleeping. Mostly I sleep for four to five hours a day. Even then,

not all at once: sometimes I would sleep for two hours in the morning, take an hour nap on the road, and two more hours on the way back. Then I would have to wake up early the next morning.” (1.B.)

“Organizing events can take up to 24 hours. Music projects are like that as well. When I go on a gig I can work for 24 hours.” (4.S.)

Almost all freelancers and independent workers also do not have leave, except when they make their own arrangements, for example by finishing a two-day work within one day. Other informants, including one who works as an office worker and another as a restaurant cashier, are given paid leave with varying amounts of days that come with certain conditions. Restaurant cashiers are more prone to precarious working conditions with fewer leave and rigid rules complete with penalties if they fail to comply.

“We would get a pay cut for every day we don’t come to work. Fifty thousand a day, so if you don’t come to work the whole week, multiply that by seven. When we had to work during the Eid holiday, we only received an additional one hundred thousand for the whole day. But when you take a day off, the pay cut is many times over. It happened to me. Once, I didn’t come to work on a Saturday because I had a family emergency. Rp200,000 was deducted from my pay. I had to ask my family to cover my pay cut. If you’re sick, say, you have diarrhea or a fever and you can barely get up, well, too bad. You get a pay cut no matter what.” (3.S.)

Considering that most of them do not have employment contracts, the freelancers interviewed in this study do not have guaranteed menstrual leave. Despite having the flexibility to determine working hours, precarious working conditions—event-based jobs or projects with inhumane

deadlines—mean that some might be unable to take a menstrual leave. Self-precarization happens when these freelancers are forced to continue working. In the end, their position is even more precarious than workers who do not menstruate.

Several informants also talked about unpaid overtime. This working condition is prevalent among food and beverage (F&B) workers.

“Processed and unprocessed food must be sorted into two large freezers. Sometimes [the sorting] would go until three or half past three [in the morning], and that doesn’t count as overtime. Even if you go home at four in the morning.” (3.S.)

The informant has raised this issue before, but did not get an adequate response from her employer. “They told me, ‘Well, that’s just dedication!’” As quoted at the beginning of this report, she also stated, “It’s almost like slavery: you spend so much time (working) without being valued..”

3 . 2 . 4

LOW WAGE

More than 50% of the informants felt that they are not getting a decent wage. Many even have incomes below the provincial minimum wage, except for a few informants: a video editor with over ten years of experience, an IT worker, a freelance journalist, and an HR staff at an advertising agency in Jakarta. Their average monthly income—despite having diploma or bachelor degrees—ranges from Rp500,000 to Rp3,500,000.

“Last time I only received about four hundred thousand. Even though my salary was supposed to be 1.7 million [rupiah] in total. Some work in the cashier, and the pay is mostly 2.5 million or above. [Other restaurants] even pay as much as the UMR [provincial minimum wage]. I know because we talk among each other about stuff like this. Well, maybe not all [restaurants], but some do pay UMR.” (3.S.)

Apart from the lack of a decent wage, many informants also complained about late payments or problems with cashing their invoice.

“If [I land] a job, for example from an office, I would ask: when will [the payment] be processed? Will I get paid right after I finish the work, or not? Because if it takes at least three months, then no, thank you. I don’t understand why it takes them so long. I really don’t. If you buy food, it’s not like you can say ‘Mas, I’ll [pay you] in three months, okay? [laughs]’” (3.B.)

When situations are tight, F&B workers are often forced to borrow payday loans from online loan sharks or their own employers. In some cases, employers would ask for the original copy of their personal document, usually their graduation certificate, as a collateral, so these workers have no option but to stay. Essentially, they are trapped in their current place of employment.

Experience from one of the informants, who is a writer based in Bandung, shows that welfare is also influenced by workflow. Unhealthy workflows can diminish workers’ rights. Furthermore, working conditions are increasingly precarious because of the absence of employment contracts to protect the workers.

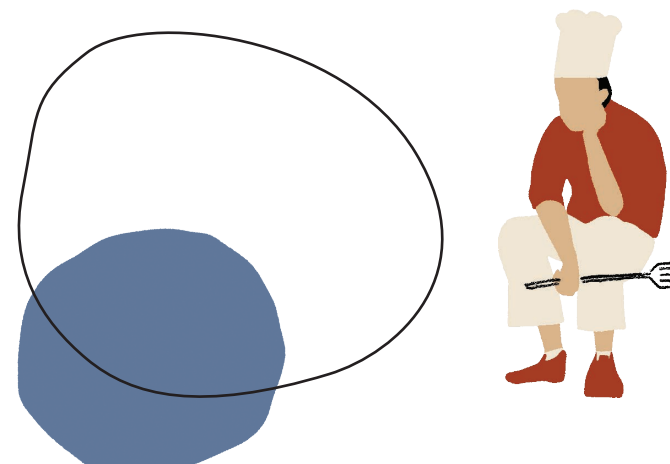
“In my last project, I asked [to be paid] by the hour. But the client begged to pay by page instead, [saying]

how things are hard right now, all kinds of excuses. He asked to pay me forty thousand for every page. My usual rate was forty thousand per hour, forty to fifty thousand. It takes about two hours to write one page, so it was supposed to be a hundred thousand. Finally, after one and a half months, I received my payment of 1.4 million rupiahs. And that’s because it took them forever to give me feedback on my work.” (5.B.)

We also found that the Covid-19 pandemic exacerbates the workers’ precariousness as sources of income become more and more uncertain or have significantly decreased. This phenomenon not only affects the informants in this research, but also on a larger scale as indicated by the emergence of peer-to-peer wealth distribution initiatives such as Bagirata (bagirata.id).

“Before the pandemic, I would make around 3-3.5 million rupiahs a month. But now, only 1 to 1.5 million. And even then, it’s uncertain. Sometimes there’s nothing at all, or I could only make five hundred thousand [laughs].” (4.B)

“I didn’t get paid for two months. It wasn’t until this month that I received my pay. Some projects are stalled, and fortunately the office [cash reserve] was able to cover [costs], so in the end [wages] are still paid.” (5.S.)



3 . 2 . 5

LACK OF CAREER CERTAINTY

With all of the situations that have been discussed earlier, it is no surprise that the informants felt doubtful of whether their field of work would bring career certainty.

“I also don’t know whether writing, which is something I have loved since I was a child, can continue to become my source of livelihood. The way things are going now, I’m not so sure. I’d hate to think that this gives my mother’s extended family the justification [to judge]: ‘Why don’t you get yourself a real job.’” (5.B.)

The desire to start a family or the need to support family members has convinced some workers to seek a more stable source of income and a more secure safety net. One informant admitted to having made a decision to switch professions one day since their current one is unable to provide stability. That is, if the opportunity ever arises.

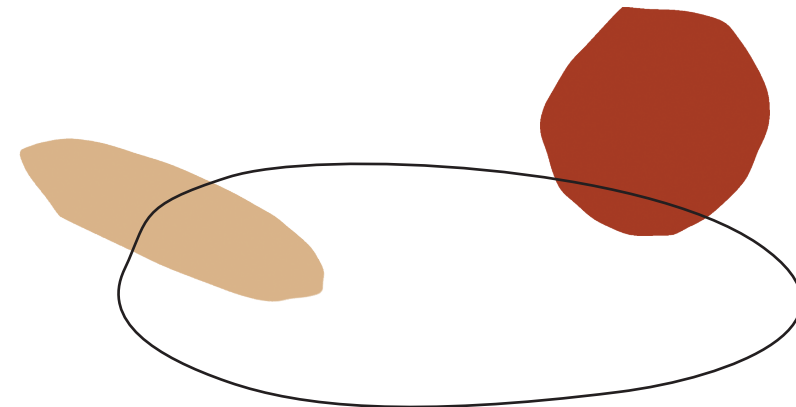
“I’m used to freelancing as a way to earn a living, but lately I’ve been thinking, one day I will have to provide for my dependents, [laughs] in that case then perhaps it’s time to work at an office again [laughs]. I can’t imagine how much I’ll need to make, or even what those needs will be. Because now I can still be, like, ‘Oh, well, I can only do one meal today, so I’ll just have dinner later [laughs]’. Pretty sure that’s not how it works once you’re married.” (3.B.)

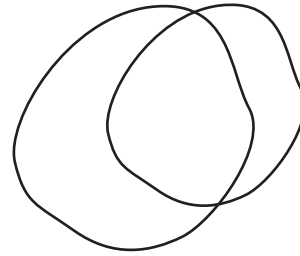
“Ideally, maybe an office job. I don’t think freelancing can be my primary source of income. But as something to do on the weekends, to earn extra money, then why not?” (1.B.)

According to the informants, flexibility in terms of working hours is not a problem. In fact, they consider it a form of freedom. It is the income flexibility that is the problem, and a significant one at that.

“Yes, I prefer some flexibility, but only if the income is steady at least. What I want is a steady income, I’d be happy earning 3-5 million a month, or somewhere in that range. Or ten million, that would be ideal [laughs]. So we have flexibility in terms of working, but the monthly income is stable.” (4.B.)

Following this overview of the research informants’ experiences and perceptions on flexibility and precariousness, Chapter 4 will further discuss flexibility, precariousness, and self-precarization as experienced by the informants in the context of today’s “creative” workers in Indonesia.

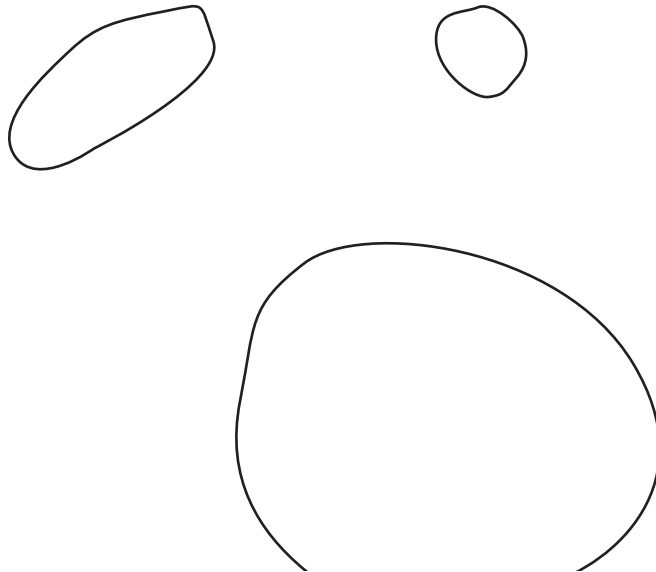




**EXPERIENCES ON
FLEXIBILITY AND
PRECARIZATION:**

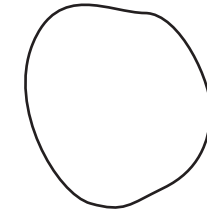
**NO LEISURE TIME, NO JOB
SECURITY, NO INCOME
CERTAINTY**

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4 . 1

**FLEXIBLE
WORK?**



If there is one word that perhaps best describes the state of workers in the creative industries, it would be flexibility. Flexibility is a distinguishing feature of workers in this sector compared to their counterparts in other sectors. It is “the magic word for solving various problems in industrial and governmental organizations.” (Kickert, 1984/1985).

Flexibility is often associated with situations where workers are able to control when, where, and how much they work (Leslie, et al., 2012). Scholars called this “flexible work practices” (FWPs)—a concept first coined by German management consultant Christel Kammerer in 1960, and later broadly adopted in the country seven years later. FWPs are often contrasted with formal workers with clear working hours, places, and workloads—even though it is still common for employers to violate these arrangements.

During the 1970s, along with the emergence of neoliberalism, FWPs began being widely practiced in many places including the United States. The prevalence of FWPs has increased dramatically in recent years (Ibid.). In the United Kingdom, since 2014, a full-time worker can even apply for flexible working hours at their office.

The popularity of FWPs is supported by several factors. One of them is a claim that it “provides a win-win situation for workers and the organization” (Ibid.). FWPs are said to increase job satisfaction and reduce stress level among

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workers. On the other hand, FWPs are also profitable for the company as they attract the best talents in the industry who often seek this arrangement when deciding where to work. Through FWPs, workers are “liberated from the constraints of a permanent career and given the opportunity to make their own way by selling whatever goods and services they might like to offer” (Srnicek, 2016).

But how does it actually work in reality?

4 . 2

NO TIME FOR LEISURE, THERE IS ONLY WORK, WORK, AND MORE WORK

Most of the informants view flexibility in terms of time and space. They define flexibility as the freedom to work anywhere and anytime. In the words of Informant 5.J, flexible workers are those who are “not bound by working hours”, which essentially means that they do not have clear working hours. A similar sentiment was echoed by Informant 1.S. “Flexibility is related to working hours,” and “freelancing basically means having no strict hours.”

These descriptions are often contrasted with 9-to-5 office workers. Informant 5.B provided an illustration: while office workers have to be at work starting from nine in the morning, freelancers can start working much later in the day. Freelancers can take one or two hours of break, or maybe more, while regular workers are only given one hour of breaktime at certain hours as regulated by their office. Freelancers are not bound by office regulations despite being hired by the company, as their only obligation to

the company is to produce certain expected outputs. “It’s basically just being able to set your own time [unlike office workers],” he said.

The flexibility of space and time is one of the primary considerations for choosing a career as a flexible worker, rather than a formal one, as it allows them to work anywhere, including from home. Given the less than adequate transportation infrastructure in Indonesia, including and especially in big cities, this choice might seem rational. Informant 5.B, for instance, admitted that having a flexible working arrangement makes him feel liberated because “there is no need to get stuck in traffic.”

This trend is ubiquitous. Several studies in England (Burnford, 2019) have highlighted the appeal of this arrangement for most people. One study found that 92% of millennials prioritize flexibility in seeking jobs; 80% of women and 52% of men want their next job to be more flexible; 70% of workers feel that flexible work is more attractive and 30% prefer flexibility instead of a raise; in addition, most people over the age of 50 want to approach retirement by gradually reducing their working hours and working more flexibly.

However, underneath all the positive images—being freed from rigid working hours, a designated workplace, and office bureaucracy—lies a huge cost that these workers must bear. Precisely because they are flexible, working hours tend to be much longer. Most informants confirmed that due to this so-called flexibility, they have experienced at least one instance where their working hours ended up being longer than regular office hours.

Informant 1.B, a freelance wedding decorator, admitted that “I work on weekends, too, and so by Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, I would feel like I’m about to die from exhaustion.” She also said, “I can go three to four days

without much sleep, only four to five hours a day—two hours in the morning, an hour nap during the day, and two more hours on my way back.” Informant 4.S said, “There is barely any day off. When I’m not working, I’m networking,” which according to her is very important to do as a freelancer.

Informant 3.S said she would work 48 hours a week—Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower states that the maximum working hours is only forty hours a week. She even works during public holidays. At one point she likened her work to “slavery,” because “you give so much time (working) without being valued.” Meanwhile, Informant 3.B admitted that he could “start [working] from nine in the morning all the way until ten o’clock in the evening”—meaning he devotes thirteen hours a day to work. Informant 5.S, an IT worker, reported “countless times” spent on Saturdays and Sundays “taking care of bugs.”

210 Informant 5.S said that the reason she had to work long hours was that some clients “really have no sense of time,” citing an example, “they would sometimes ask for a meeting at ten [in the evening], on a Sunday, no less.” She also said clients often set outrageous deadlines. “They would send [requests] on Saturday and expect them to be done by Monday.” Similarly, Informant 5.B mentioned how he was often faced with “deadlines [that] simply do not make sense.”

Despite being aware of the outrageousness of their employer’s requests, many informants would still do what they were asked to do. This proves the all too common knowledge that workers and employers are not in an equal position. The inequality between the two is multidimensional, ranging from the fact that employers have money and capital and thus stronger bargaining power, to inequality in terms of social status (Bagchi, 2009).

Some informants work below normal working hours, such as Informant 4.B with seven hours a day and Informant 5.B, who, as a college student, works “four to five hours a day, 25-27 hours a week.” However, their cases seem to be more an exception than a rule. The fact remains: long working hours are ubiquitous. A survey conducted on 1,386 participants in 2017 by Freelancermap.com, a site for freelancers, showed that the average working hours of freelancers reached 47 hours a week. A quarter of them worked more than fifty hours, and about seven per cent worked more than sixty hours a week. Only a quarter worked for less than forty hours per week or eight hours per day. The same survey conducted in 2019 was only marginally better. As many as 57% of the 1,645 freelancers admitted to working more than forty hours per week.

Several informants in this study stated that their long working hours were also caused by a lack of employment contract. The contract between the employer and the worker is generally only conveyed verbally or via instant message, which has little to no legal standing. “Legal stuff has been my biggest blind spot, ever since I started freelancing,” said Informant 3.B. Meanwhile, Informant 4.B mentioned that freelance work is usually done on the basis of “requests”; “without sending a CV”; and indeed, “without a contract.” A study conducted by SINDIKASI in three cities in 2019 found that 59% of respondents worked without a clear employment contract (SINDIKASI, 2019).

The absence of a contract puts flexible workers in the same category as informal workers—in other words, they experience informalization. Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower (Labor Law) defines informal workers as “anyone working without an official employment relationship on the basis of an agreement which regulates the elements of the work, wage, and authority.” Individuals working in the informal sector are characterized as operating in a space between legality and illegality, obeying

some rules while disobeying other rules (International Labor Organization, 2010).

Apart from the absence of contracts, technology also contributes to long—or at least flexible and erratic—working hours. Technology enables workers to be reachable at any time, making way for the intensification of work. Nowadays, it is no longer relevant whether someone works from an office, home, or anywhere else: what is more important is whether they are “online” or not. Whenever and wherever the telephone rings, it must be someone from work (Eriksen, 2005). Eriksen (2005) aptly referred to today’s era as “the tyranny of email,” which characterizes the 24-hour society and describes a form of spatial flexibility.

It should be noted that Eriksen’s article was published in 2005 and he began the work three years earlier—at a time when email was generally not accessible on mobile phones. His statement has become even more relevant now. Today, tasks are expected to be done right away, and work requests are being delivered not only by phone, but also through emails, instant messaging applications, or even social media.

Naturally, for the informants, the consequence of long working hours is reduced leisure time. Informant 5.B said that he often sacrificed his time off, quality time with family, or simply time for “watching TV or Netflix” because he had to keep working. And since the human body has its limits, physical and mental fatigue is inevitable. According to a survey, health problems among workers in the creative industries are ten percent higher than the national average (Eynde, et al., 2016). Another survey found that “creative workers” are three times more likely to experience mental health problems. Sixty percent of respondents have experienced suicidal thoughts (Shorter, et al., 2018).

In addition, due to time-space flexibility when it comes to working, the boundaries between leisure/time off, work, and time for social activities including quality time with family “tend to be blurred” (Valoura, 2013). Informant 2.S, who has a permanent job under an Indefinite Employment Contract (PKWTT), also takes various side jobs which he often does from home. “I would take a little break first, [then] work until twelve to one [at night].” He would often not stop working “until two o’clock”—but that is not because the work is finished by then, but because he “couldn’t take it any longer” and that he would have to “leave early in the morning” to work again.

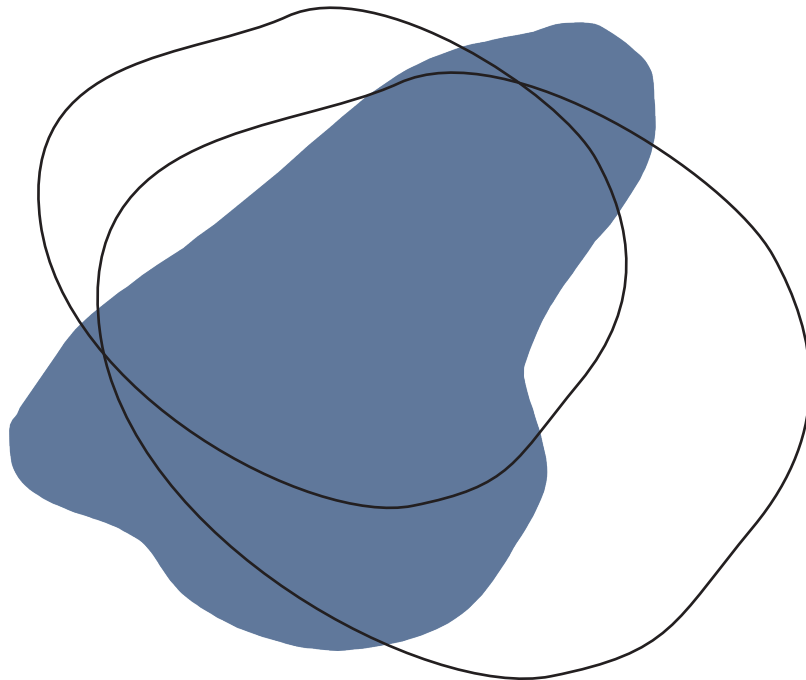
For these informants, there is no way out. It is either accepting a job, no matter how demanding, or risk not working at all. In the words of Informant 4.J, a freelancer has to work hard because “if you become the stereotypical ‘relaxed freelancer’, then, well, you simply won’t make money.” As a result, freelancers like herself are forced to jump at the slightest opportunity, especially for those who are new to the world of flexible work.

The experience of the informants highlighted in this study has brought to attention the reality of flexible work practices, which are all too often blurred by misleading positive images. Workers are often forced to accept projects with extremely tight deadlines that require intensive work around the clock. Ultimately, the notion of flexible hours, which claims that the workers will have the ability to control and manage their own time, is nothing but empty promise. After all, flexibility is contingent upon the needs of the project, and is not defined by the needs of the workers (Gill, 2002).

Long working hours in all its forms and consequences as highlighted in this section are one example of working conditions that stem from flexploitation. In addition to some of the examples mentioned earlier, other forms of

exploitation due to long and erratic working hours include unpaid overtime (Informant 2.S), wage deduction or pay cuts due to taking a sick day, and a bizarre rule that prohibits workers from sitting down during working hours (Informant 3.S).

Flexible work is often used as an excuse for employers to reduce the amount of wages that workers are entitled to receive, contributing to a surge in exploitation (Gray, 2004). In this sense, flexibility actually benefits the employer more so than the workers—in the words of Informant 1.S: “Flexibility is most ideal for employers”; and Informant 5.B: “Flexible means whatever the client wants.” Flexible work that paves the way for flexploitation disproportionately affects those who are under the greatest pressure to accept poor working conditions and are least likely to unionize (Ibid.).



4 . 3

NO JOB SECURITY, NO INCOME CERTAINTY

Flexploitation, which is characterized by the massive scale of temporary jobs, has an impact on the already precarious working conditions (Kong, 2014). In the creative industries, flexibility not only results in precarious working conditions, but is indeed “often built on these working conditions” (Bridges, 2018).

Experiences of precariousness shared by the informants in this research can be classified into two interrelated aspects. The first is instances of precarization, or what Lorey (2015) called a process of becoming precarious. Lorey also explored the various instruments that governments or employers have used to construct and impose precariousness on society and workers. Meanwhile, the second category includes informant accounts of precarity. Lorey (2015) has stated that precarity refers to insecurity that arises from structural inequalities in society, including inequalities of class, gender, race, and so on.

Precarization is most often observed when the informants talked about the conditions of their employment. Informant 1.B, a wedding decorator, complained about the uncertainties of her field: “In the next year or even six months, no one knows what will happen. This is event-based work, so there are no long-term contracts. People come and go very quickly in this business. It’s not like you work at a company with a clear career path, or one that can provide job security for their employees. Again, everything is event-based.”

Informant 1.B along with several other informants, especially those who work as freelancers, understand

very well that their current occupations provide no career certainty in the future. This lack of a career path has made informants feel insecure about the prospects of increasing their quality of life, which is often associated with increased income or job positions—upward social mobility. Their concern stems from the awareness that uncertainties can affect their lives in the long run, especially when it comes to long-term plans such as getting life insurance or securing adequate housing. Worrying about uncertainties has had an impact on the mental health of the informants. In the words of Informant 2.S: “I’m afraid I’m going nowhere.”

Kong (2014) observed a number of mental health conditions that workers experience under flexploitation, including insecurity, anxiety, and a sense of isolation. Not only does flexibility lead to precarization, it also creates future uncertainties. It is only natural that mental health crises have and will become increasingly common among workers.

The informants are all too aware that their occupations may become obsolete or highly uncertain due to social conditions. When asked about the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on her job, Informant 1.B was quoted as saying, “Well, especially in a situation like this, this [work] becomes a tertiary need for people.” Informants in other cities have also confirmed the precariousness of their jobs. Informant 1.J, who works in the film industry, said,

“Once, during one of those low seasons, I didn’t earn any income at all for an entire month. For videographers, the fasting month is usually a low season. People tend to want to rest during Ramadan, and there was very little demand for projects like commercial shoots or corporate gigs. The most you can get are small projects like advertisements. TV people, on the other hand, would get a lot of projects during this time.”

Informant 1.J called it as “low seasons”, which are periods of times when job offers are few and far between. Low seasons are often expected, but many workers cannot easily prepare for scarcities since their incomes are also uncertain in the months leading up to this period. Informant 1.J added,

“2019 was the worst year for me. There was no work at all during January-February, and nothing at all during Ramadan, so that’s three months of no income.”

This study also observed precarization influenced by geographic location. According to Kong (2009), a city’s cultural, knowledge, and economic capital can significantly influence precarization among workers.

Informant 2.B, a freelancer based in Bandung, said: “If you ask me, brand creators in Bandung have to compete against Jakarta and Surabaya—that’s where the market is.” Based on his experience, the job markets in Jakarta and Surabaya have higher bargaining power. Those who do not have access to these markets have and will continue to experience inequality compared to workers who do. As a result, this lack of access creates precarization.

On the other hand, having access to areas with a higher purchasing power does not guarantee that it will reduce one’s likelihood of precarization. This was the case with Informant 5.B when he demanded to be paid equal to the wage of Jakarta workers. He would often hear, “. your rate should be smaller because the minimum wage in Bandung is also smaller. You can’t compare it to Jakarta.”

Even those who are fortunate enough—or have the capital (social, economic, cultural) to access a market that values their worth—still have to confront the next layer of precarization: employers who often ignore their rights as workers. Recalling his experience, Informant 1.J said,

“One time, the project I was working on was suddenly cancelled when I had already finished working. It was an ad for a health supplement drink. They decided not to run it. I’d finished editing, presented my work to the agency, which they approved, and the agency already brought my work to their client, who would give the final approval. Turns out the client changed their mind, or something, because they decided not to run it.”

Furthermore, the lack of guaranteed representation, or what Standing (2011, p. 10) referred to as “Possessing a collective voice in the labor market, through, for example, independent trade unions, with the right to strike,” further contributes to the precarization of workers. Having little to no collective representation in the labor market severely limits collective pressure on employers, putting workers in a weak bargaining position when asserting their rights. As a result, workers are precarized even further.

218 As individuals, workers recognize their limitations in pursuing interventions. In some cases, they are even discouraged from demanding the wage they are owed. Some eventually gave up. Informant 5.J said,

“Say, I’ve done my job and the client refuses to pay, well, there’s nothing I can do, is there? You can’t demand them to pay. There’s no one to mediate.”

Another instrument of precarization is the removal of social safety nets. In the early days of industrial capitalism, it was not uncommon for workers to receive their entire wage in cash (McNally, 1993). Beginning in the 20th century, another wage component was introduced in the form of benefits, which was sourced from company or state profits. Benefits can take the form of social security, such as health insurance, pension, severance pay, to name a few.

Most of the informants interviewed in this study did not receive such benefits. Informant 5.B, who is a freelance writer and editor, said, “I pay everything out of pocket, including medical expenses. All they (employers) know is this is how much they pay me, and that’s it. To them, the rest is none of their business.” Informant 2.J, who works as a writer, shared a similar experience. “None of them provides health insurance. Health benefits are important, but you won’t be able to get them unless you work in an office, you know.”

Amidst uncertainties over their livelihood, the informants regretted the fact that no safety net has been provided by the government or employers that could minimize the impact of these uncertainties on their already precarious lives.

Of the many social security schemes, health insurance is particularly desired by the informants, especially when safety and health are often at stake in their line of work. According to Informant 1.J, who works in the film industry:

“The film industry is the most malicious when it comes to occupational health and safety. On top of having zero health insurance, health and safety protocol barely existed, especially pre-2012. It was ridiculous. Back then, you wouldn’t even get a harness when you’re working at a height. Even if there were safety equipment, it was the bare minimum. It was fucked up.”

Despite being aware of the process and instruments of precarization, the informants were convinced that it was up to them—their economic and social capitals—to deal with uncertainties. Lorey (2015) referred to this as self-precarization, or the process of internalizing and rationalizing precarization through the logic of the neoliberal system, particularly the individualization of social problems,

which can lead to pseudo-autonomy. In the words of Informant 2.B:

“I don’t really think of myself as being in a precarious situation, although the possibility is always there. I still have my networks here and there, so I’d like to think that I still have the opportunities to do other things. For example, if for some reason the design or creative industries were to become obsolete, I would probably take advantage of what little I know about healthy food, the culinary world, so I can try and do that.”

Informant 4.J shared a similar confidence in their economic, social, and cultural capitals to overcome precarization. “Well, I may not have a lot of savings, but I do have assets that I can use for production. Those are my savings, I guess.”

This research also observed a common narrative among the informants that it is the workers who should take control of their lives in the face of structures that enable their precarization. Informant 3.J viewed a person’s success or failure as a matter of self-restraint against consumption.

“I don’t see myself as fully precarious, maybe fifty-fifty? No, in my opinion, I’m not that precarious... I have never been someone who spends more than I earn.”

Several informants even saw precarization as a motivation, an opportunity to reflect on ways to be better in life and at work. Informant 2.S, a graphic designer, was among those who held this opinion.

“At first I would feel the constant pressure to work, work, and work every day. But then at one point, reality kicks in. ‘This bill and that bill are due soon.’ So I’m reminded again, my deadline is in two days, time to get to work, cross everything on the list, forget

about everything else. The outcome has been pretty good. I mean, yes, of course at first I would think, ‘why is the economy like this.’ But I always try to take the positive over the negative.”

The above statements are some examples of pseudo-autonomy that is the hallmark of self-precarization, and statements like these were common among the informants, indicating the prevalent individualization of social problems. Relative autonomy in the creative industries is closely tied to the fact that workers are perceived and perceive themselves as “self-employed” and even “entrepreneurs”, effectively obfuscating the reality of their employment status and enabling further precarization (Morgan & Nelligan, 2018).

Previous sections have discussed how precarious working conditions are inevitable in flexible work, and that flexibility is “often built on these working conditions” (Bridges, 2018). The more precarious the situation, the easier it becomes for someone to accept flexible jobs. When lives and livelihoods are precarized, workers are forced to hammer on and bend over backwards to prevail, either by constantly looking for work, juggling daily schedules, pursuing self-growth and skills development, building social networks, or all of the above.

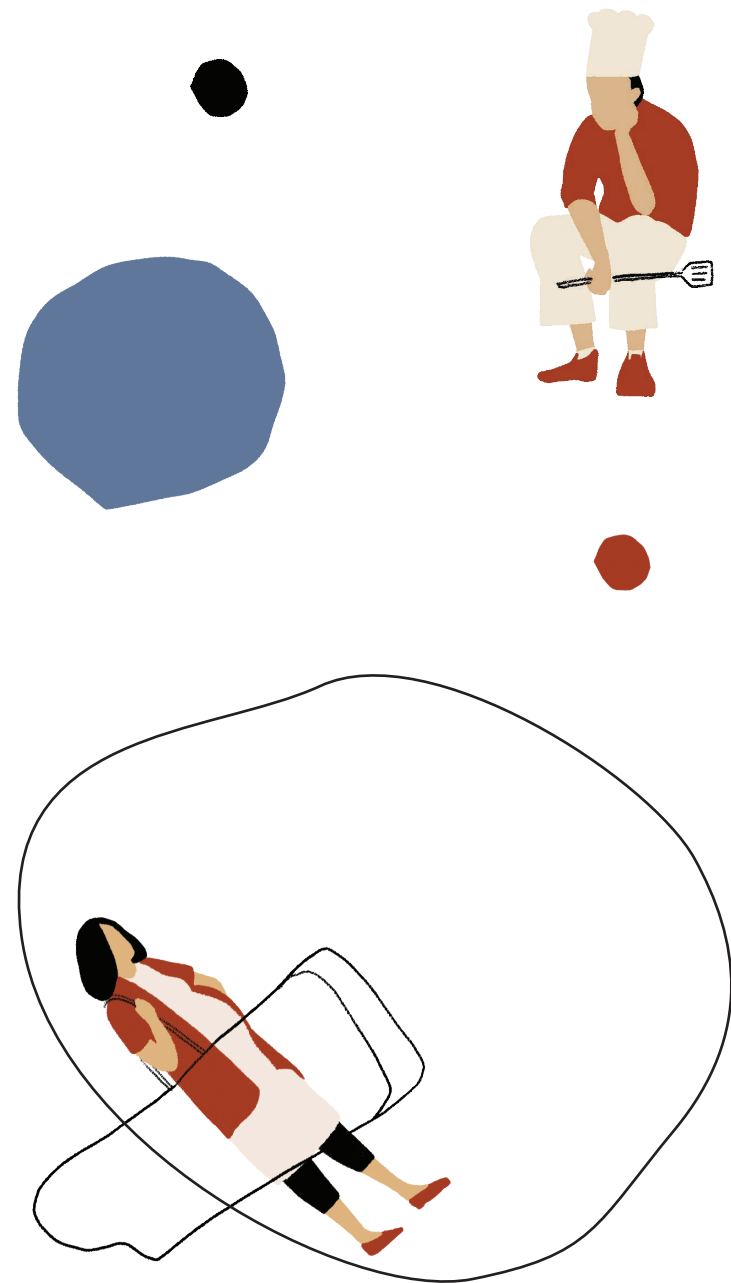
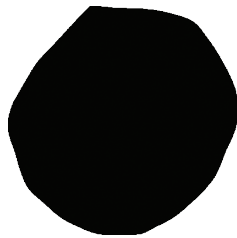
Additionally, workers internalize precarization by seeing themselves as a boss or entrepreneur. However, according to Polimpung (2018), “the main objective of precarization, including self-precarization, is to direct, co-opt and seize creativity in the interest of accumulating profit and power for the rulers and investors. The fruits of creative labor are not enjoyed by the workers themselves, but rather by their employers.”

Through this research, we have highlighted some insights from the situation of workers in the creative industries. The

majority of workers experience precarization in the form of job insecurity and income uncertainties. Informants resort to working precarious jobs in between periods of unemployment. This puts them in an even more precarious situation, and when coupled with the lack of access to social safety nets, can result in deep and entrenched uncertainties.

Living in a fragile situation day after day makes it nearly impossible for workers to anticipate or prepare for possible adverse events. At any moment, economic neoliberalization can pave the way for economic shocks, which causes even further damage, or as Lorey (2015) has mentioned, borrowing from Judith Butler's (2004) explanation, that precariousness is inherent and inevitable in human beings as vulnerable bodies.

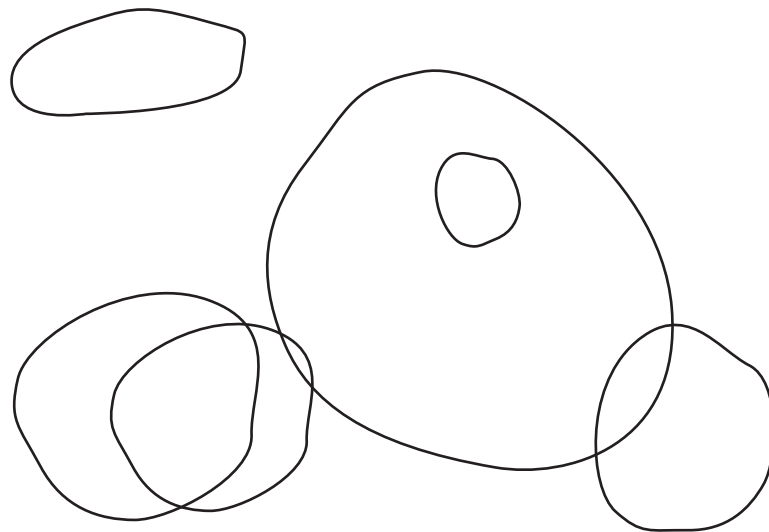
The vulnerable lives of workers makes it difficult for them to cope with and recover from life adversities. Precarious workers are disproportionately affected by the multitude of uncertainties in their lives. This process not only puts them in an even more precarious situation, but also widens the gap between those who can cope and those who cannot. Those who are better off can cope with adverse events while those who are precarious will experience what Standing called "the constant experience of hardship" (2014 p. 23): sinking and swimming in an ocean of uncertainties, constantly precarious.



CHAPTER — 5

IDENTIFYING THE CLASS POSITION OF THE WORKERS IN THE CREATIVE INDUSTRY AND CHALLENGES FOR LABOR/TRADE UNIONS

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5 . 1

THE GLOBAL PRECARIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Since the rise of neoliberalism in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the working class around the globe has been experiencing precarization (Harvey, 2007; Yates, 2018). An increase in job informalization was the main cause. Due to agrarian changes, many people moved to cities to look for work (Davis, 2004; Rizzo, 2017). However, the limited formal employment opportunities in big cities forced workers from rural areas to work in the informal sectors as self-employed workers; they then became traders, freight forwarders, and so on (Habibi, 2016). These informal workers were a relative surplus of production, which “generally can be defined by the insecurity and precariousness of work activities outside the core sector of capitalist production” (Marx, as quoted by Habibi, 2016, p.9).

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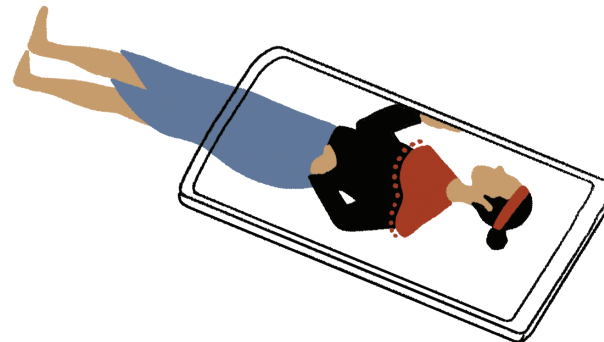
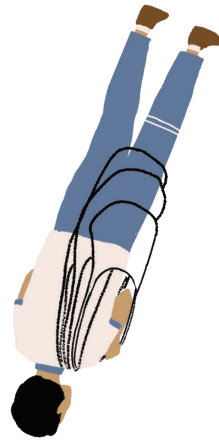
Additionally, along with the increasing labor market flexibility (LMF), jobs have become increasingly informalized and workers are known as the precariat (Standing, 2011). Under the LMF, production cost efficiency is the rule of the game. As a result, workers reduction and recruitment by way of outsourcing and other casual employment mechanisms have become very common (Izzati, 2014; Suwandi, 2019).

The search for new production sites in order to reduce labor costs is often carried out (Pratap, 2014). In this regard, many large-scale production enterprises, most of which are headquartered in Northern countries, have consistently shifted production sites to areas of low wages and abundant

reserve army of labor, almost all of which are located in Southern countries (Suwandi, 2019).

However, the capitalists based in Northern countries still have control over technology and workers in Southern countries (Fahmi Panimbang, 2013; Suwandi, 2019). As a result, workers in Southern countries also experience wage inequality, more so compared to workers in Northern countries, even when they show higher levels of productivity (Suwandi, 2019).

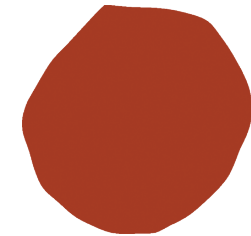
Along with the increasing advancement of technology, new forms of work have emerged, for instance the Social Media-based Online Stores/SMBOS (trans. Toko Daring berbasis Media Sosial (TDMS) (Izzati, 2020). However, the conditions for workers remain the same: more vulnerable and informalized, without job security, health and safety insurance, and with deteriorating mental health (Yates, 2018). This applies to the working class in all sectors, including those in the



creative industries.

At the same time, the increasing discourse on entrepreneurship and debates about the middle class have emerged (Cockayne, 2016; Therborn, 2020). In this discourse, the middle class is often defined only by income level above the poverty line and total spending (Therborn, 2020), even though it does not necessarily indicate a person's class status as the middle class. Besides, with the rise of online micro loans, access to consumption has become easier and therefore affects their spending.

These changes led to at least two kinds of discussions on class. The first is whether precarious workers who are informalized as a result of the LMF belong to a distinct class, or are part of the working class. Second, identifying the class position of self-employed workers in the creative industries. Third, the consequences of these two things, including workers' views on labor/trade unions. The findings of this study will be analyzed through this framework.



5 . 2

THE PRECARIAT, THE ENTREPRENEUR, THE MIDDLE CLASS, OR THE WORKING CLASS ?

Identifying the workers' class position is one of the objectives of this study. Our findings show that the informants' perception and understanding of class status varies. Several informants identified themselves as the working class by directly describing what they do and the working conditions they face (1.J; 2.J; 6.F; 2.S; 3.S; 4.S; 2.B). Meanwhile, with other informants, while they did not identify themselves as workers, they emphasized the importance of unionizing in the workplace. One of them said that an advantage that unionized workers enjoy is the mechanism through which they can file a complaint should they experience sexual harassment or assault, and/or should their rights are violated by their employer(s) (1.B).

However, several informants did not identify themselves as workers or the working class. Instead, throughout the interview, they positioned themselves as entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, other informants did not necessarily identify themselves as workers on some occasions, but did so in others. This is evident in the case of informant 3.J. who, throughout our interview, positioned himself as a human resource manager—a mediator between “superiors” and “subordinates,” and part of neither.

“We’re actually in the middle,” she said.

However, in another instance, the same informant stated that she is in fact part of the working class. The same thing happened to other informants who on the one hand

identified themselves as entrepreneurs, but on the other hand identified with precarious workers.

“.. I think I belong to the precarious worker category.” (4.B).

Other informants, including 4.J who owns a social media-based online store, positioned themselves neither specifically as the working class nor as an entrepreneur.

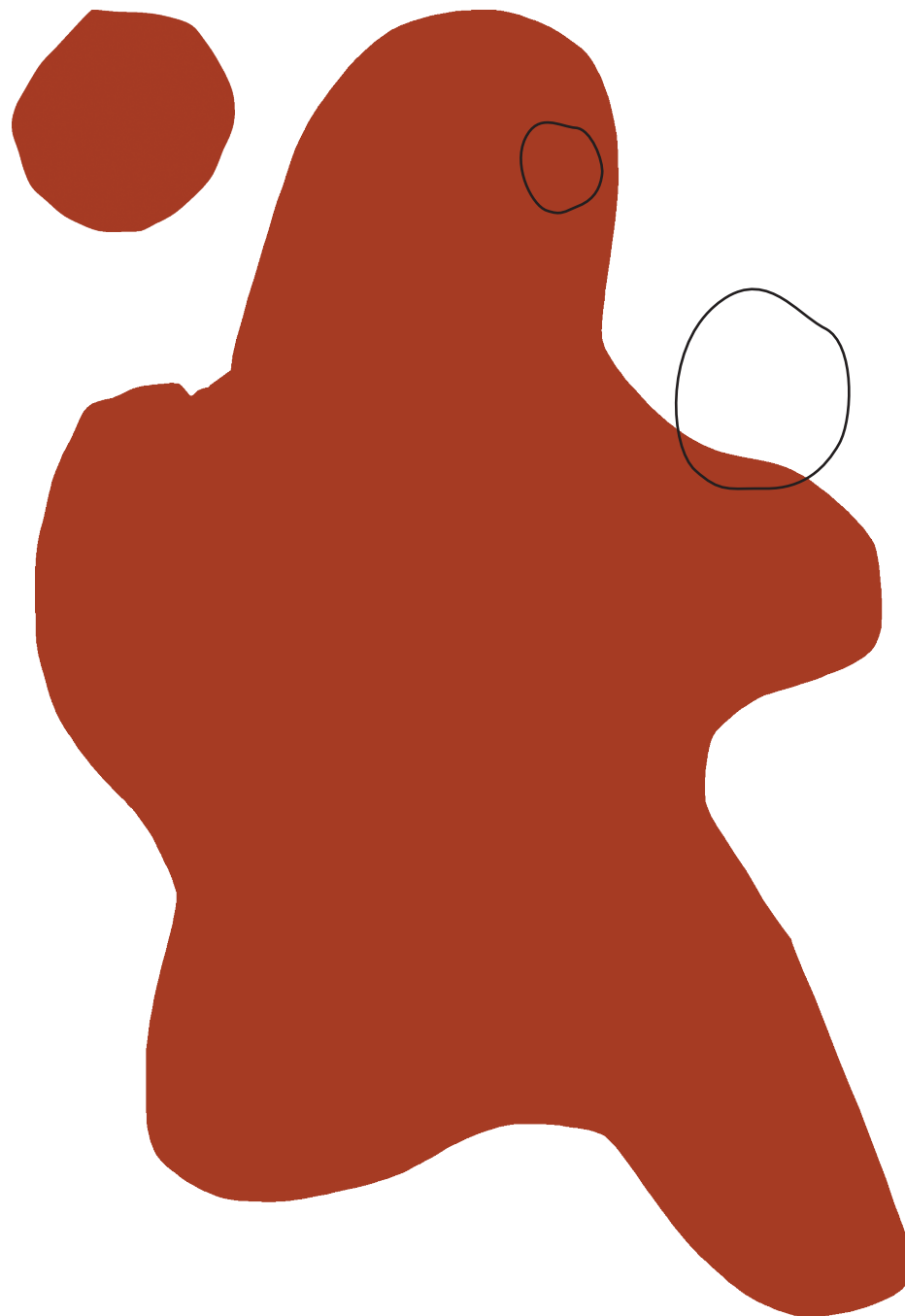
Brief identifications of the class positions of the research informants can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 4 .
IDENTIFICATION OF
INFORMANTS' SOCIAL
CLASS POSITION

No	Kategori Identifikasi Posisi Kelas Para Informan Penelitian
1.	Working class.
2.	Not part of the working class, but understands the benefits of unionization.
3.	Entrepreneur, not working class.
4.	Sometimes working class, sometimes not.
5.	Neither part of the working class, nor an entrepreneur.

Source: processed research data

From these findings, three things can be analyzed further. First, workers' self-identification as entrepreneurs due to the obfuscation of employment relationships in the creative industries. Second, the varying statuses of employment obscure the identification of workers as a class. Third, the specific working conditions that lead to a different understanding of the working class ("independent" working conditions, income, and types of work).



The increasing discourse of entrepreneurship in platform capitalism has indeed obscured employment relationships (Belk, 2014; Cockayne, 2016; Morozov, 2013; Srnicek, 2017). In fact, many workers are not entrepreneurs by definition since they still receive wages from their employers. This misidentification of the workers' position as entrepreneurs has led to the negligence of basic workers' rights. Our findings show that those who self-identify as entrepreneurs are less likely

to understand their basic rights.

The highly diverse forms of employment statuses in the creative industries have made it difficult to clearly identify the class position of the workers. Informant 4.B, for instance, self-identified as an entrepreneur even though he is actually being paid to teach music at one of the tutoring centers and becomes a sound engineer—in other words, a wage worker. Nevertheless, findings from this study indicate that those who work as freelancers tend to be aware of their position as precarious workers.

On that note, Wright (2015) has argued that despite being the most developed segment of the working class and bearers of the deepest deprivations in the fight against capitalism, the precariat is not a distinct social class. The precariat is essentially part of the working class. Treating the precariat as a distinct class, or even as a class in the making, obscures rather than clarifies their position (Ibid.).

Due to the varying working conditions—income, type of work, independence—several informants expressed confusion when trying to identify their class position. Some of them have an SMBOS or a full-time job and freelance job, both at the same time.

Banerjee & Duflo (2008) stated that while the middle class might run their own business, it is possible for them to live in a poor condition despite having better access to loans. In addition, the middle class are those with a steady job and therefore income security (p.19).

Research findings indicate that those who have a social media-based online store or are self-employed do not necessarily have better access to loans, especially housing loans. This is because, in the case of Indonesia, access to home ownership loans (KPR) tends to be limited to workers with formal jobs and a steady income.

232 Informant 4.J, for instance, shared that he had difficulty accessing various loan products, including home ownership loans (KPR), because as an artist with an SMBOS she could not meet the bureaucratic requirements.

“In the process, I had to explain my job. But why can’t I just tick a box? Why don’t they make it simple? People who have a full-time job can easily do that. Why is it that what I do isn’t an option?”

The jobs and therefore income of independent business owners, including those in the creative industries who run the SMBOSs, are rarely stable or certain. With that in mind, informants who own small businesses, including SMBOSs, cannot automatically be classified as the middle class. Rather, they are part of the precariat, which means they are part of the working class.

5 . 3

UNIONS AND THE POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS

In identifying their class position, informants mentioned the importance of unionizing, although not all of them have been unionized for a number of reasons. Some shared their desire to unionize but have lacked the time due to their schedule and workload (2.S; 3.J; 5B).

“My focus is to make ends meet. Earning money is so stressful, I’m always pressed for time. I can’t do anything else outside of work.” (2.S).

However, one informant decided to join the SINDIKASI union in the hope of improving his working ecosystem in the film industry.

“The cause that I want to fight for is occupational health and safety.” (1. J).

Informant 1.J saw that the union serves not only economic purposes, but also political ones. Drawing from examples in the United States, “they [the unions] contribute in shaping government policy.”

Another informant revealed that they decided to join the union upon learning about a relative who worked as a private employee, whose health deteriorated due to the poor working environment. Apart from normative rights, she also said that unions can provide an economic safety net for their members through cooperatives.

“Joining a cooperative has been the most beneficial. I’m talking about the union’s cooperative, not the company’s.” (4.S).

On the other hand, Informant 1.S would rally her colleagues and discuss strategies to address any potential labor violation/misconduct, effectively operating as an unofficial union. “We would talk on the group chat.”

Meanwhile, informant 4.B shared a different perception. She said, “there is definitely interest” in “knowing what a union is.” So far, however, she has never joined a union because she does not feel “precarious enough to need protection.” Informant 5.J echoed this sentiment. According to him, a union is important for those who are precarious, but since he does not feel precarious, he does not see the need to join one.

Some informants demonstrated an understanding on the importance of unionizing. They self-identified as workers, and were quite well versed in current social-political issues. Nevertheless, they still did not feel the need to join a union.

“I haven’t thought about [joining the union],” he said, laughing. “I’m not the type of person who likes to organize.” (2.J.)

Meanwhile, another informant expressed his confusion about unionizing.

“... (The union) is actually important. (But when you join them) what exactly do you do? What is expected of me?” (3.B).

The following are the informants’ responses when asked about labor/trade unions.

TABLE 5 .

INFORMANTS’ PERCEPTION ON LABOR/TRADE UNIONS

No	Perceptions
1.	Important; already unionized.
2.	Important; wants to join a union.
3.	Important; not yet interested in joining a union.
4.	Important; not interested at all in joining the union.
5.	Does not understand.

Source: processed research data.

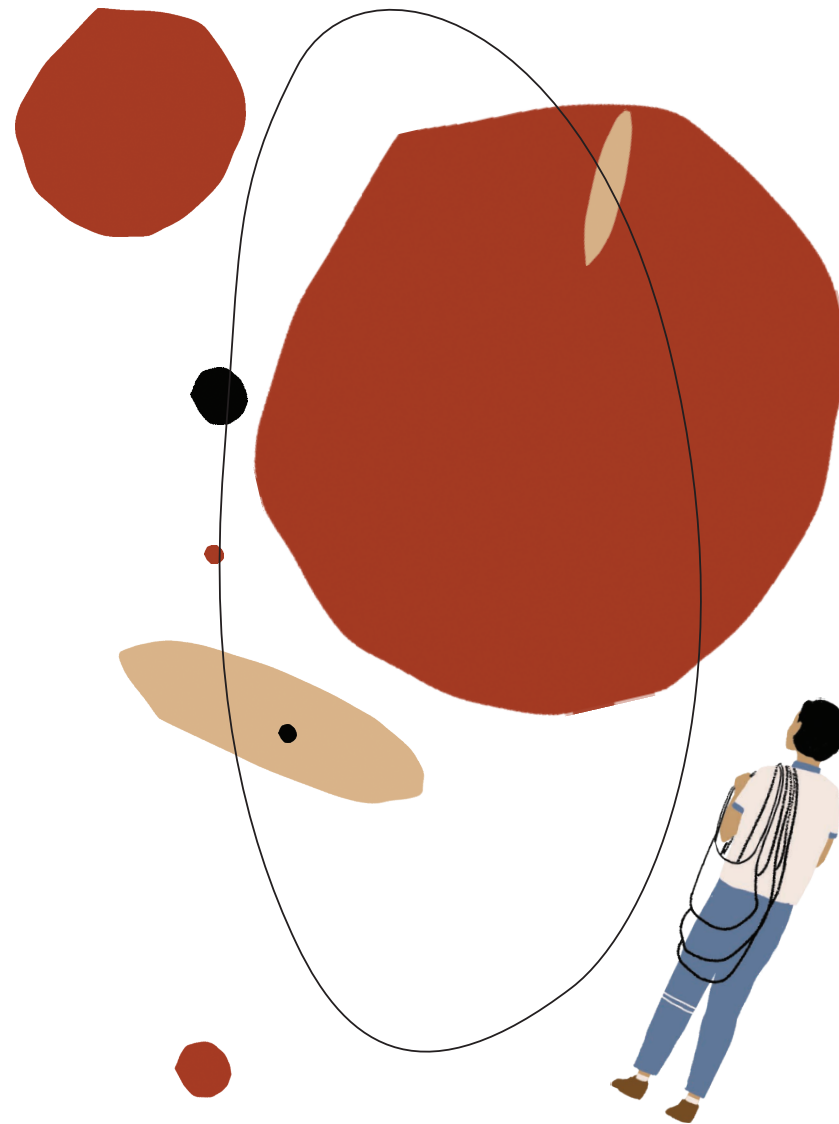
A general lack of understanding about the importance of labor/trade unions among creative industry workers can be traced to two causes. First, on a knowledge level, labor issues are excluded from Indonesia’s education curriculum. Second, in practice, labor/trade unions are deliberately weakened and undermined through union suppression (T.D., et al, 2016).

On the other hand, the increasing media coverage on unions, including in mainstream and social media, has raised the awareness of the importance of unionizing among some of the informants. This is evident especially on the issue of the controversial Omnibus Bill on Job Creation

(Omnibus Law RUU Cipta Kerja), where almost all informants mentioned having learned about it from various social movement channels, including labor/trade unions. They also expressed their concern over the potential impact of the Job Creation Bill on their lives as workers in the creative industries, which would only add to existing precariousness.

They pointed out how casual employment systems such as temporary contracts and outsourcing are further legitimized and even encouraged under the bill in the name of creating a friendly investment climate. Furthermore, these informants believed that all workers everywhere should join the labor/trade unions in the fight against the Job Creation Bill. However, in practice, some challenges remain in the workers' efforts to unionize: the creative industries often promote an atomization of workers—including through the remote work system—effectively isolating workers from each other.

Erratic working hours also made it difficult for informants to unionize. On top of that, some



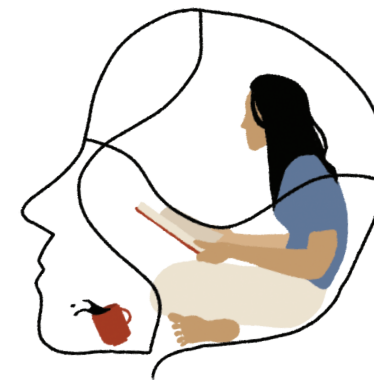
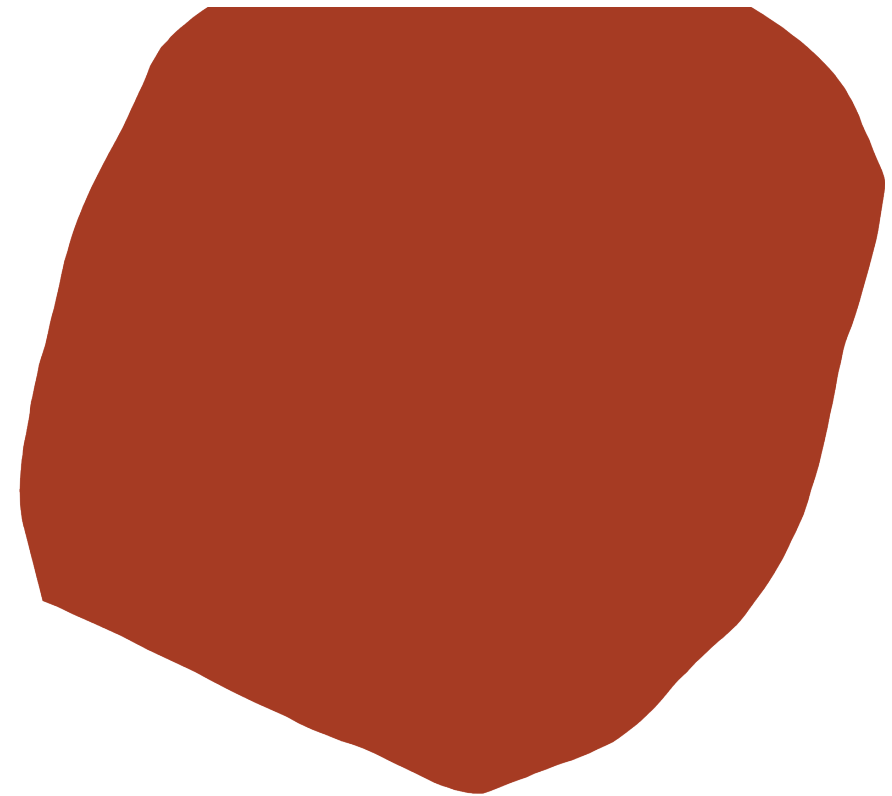
informants also feel unsatisfied with the existing roles of the unions. Informants 1.J and 4.J, for instance, prefer a union that can accommodate workers of the same profession to advocate for workers' rights. They also added that such unions should be distinguished from a professional association. In other words, the two informants wanted the existing unions to focus on specific advocacy work targeting certain subsectors in the creative industry.

On that note, most of the informants understand the importance of associational power, that is the strength that comes from unionizing. However, in general, the informants struggled to imagine the structural power that they possess, which is the power of the working class in relation to their position as workers in the creative industries. This is unfortunate since class power is determined by the extent to which workers as a class use their associational power and structural power (Wright was quoted by Silver, 2008).

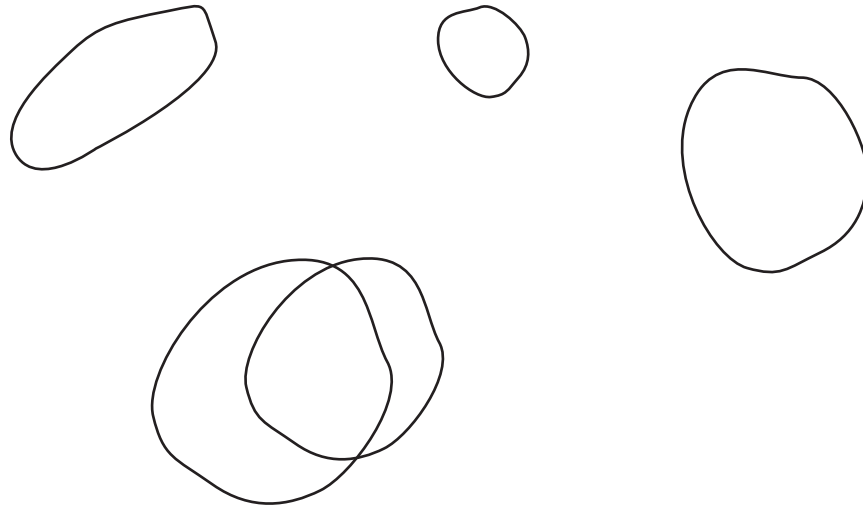
The views of these informants provide valuable insights to labor/trade unions in the

creative industries, in at least three aspects. *First*, the findings of this study help labor/trade unions in the creative industries in identifying challenges faced by workers in unionizing. *Second*, for labor/trade unions, campaigns on the importance of unionizing remain crucial in order to raise the awareness of the working class. *Third*, labor/trade unions should be able to adjust and modify their organizational models to accommodate the specific needs and conditions of the workers in the future.

Amid increasing precarization of the working class worldwide and the emergence of new forms of work in line with technological advancement, identifying the position of the working class in the creative industries is a task that has become more important than ever, as it will determine how best to actualize the power of the workers as a class and how labor/trade unions can contribute to that end. Uniting the power of the working class is an essential first step to improving the working and living conditions of the workers, including workers in the creative industries struggling under labor market flexibility, uncertainties, and precarization. The ultimate goal is to transform class awareness into political action to change the lives of the oppressed people for the better (Prashad, 2017).



CONCLUSION



In Indonesia, sixteen sub sectors have been defined as part of the creative industries based on official classification by the Creative Economy Agency—which has since been merged with the Ministry of Tourism. The problem is, limiting the study to only this official classification cannot produce a comprehensive understanding of what workers in the creative industries actually experience. It is therefore our decision to include other relevant sub sectors into the scope of this study. Workers in sub sectors that are excluded from the official classification but intersect closely with the creative industries are also explored in this research, such as social media-based online store workers.

Sixteen informants participated in this study. Due to the pandemic and large-scale social restrictions, we decided to pursue in-depth online interviews by adopting ethnographic principles.

Based on informant accounts, we found that as much as it has been hailed as an advantage of the creative industries, flexibility is nothing but an illusion. Creative industry workers are commonly described as being laid back, having the freedom to work anywhere (flexibility of space) and at any time (flexibility of time). In reality, they are often trapped in their jobs and forced to endure long working hours. Under labor regulations, workers should ideally only work forty hours a week. The workers in this sector are used to working far longer hours. Working “any time” is an illusion because ultimately, working hours are not determined by the workers, but rather by deadlines dictated by the employer—which are often outrageous.

As a result, the division between working and resting hours becomes blurred. Some informants even said they had to give up time with their families just to finish deadlines.

This flexibility of space and time almost always goes hand in hand with “flexible” wages and fulfillment of other

rights. More than half of the informants reported that the compensation they received is not worth the workload. That is also why 75% of the informants reported taking several jobs at once. Another complaint is that the payment was rarely on time. While formal workers are entitled to social security rights—although they are often violated—creative workers tend to face more precarious conditions. The provision of social security is a fairly rare phenomenon in this industry. More than sixty percent of informants did not receive insurance from their employers.

Most informants blamed these situations on the absence of a clear contract. Even if there was a contract, it could be easily violated. Since the positions between employers and employees are often unequal, workers have little choice but to accept adverse clauses or risk losing the gig and not earning money.

The impact of these working conditions is a systemic one, which affects many aspects of the workers' lives. Apart from low wages, income uncertainties, and a lack of social security, these working conditions also affect the physical and mental health of the workers. Similar studies found that their health is more easily affected than their counterparts in other sectors. This is known as flexploitation; which becomes more and more prevalent along with the rise of labor market flexibility in the creative industries.

Another important consequence of flexploitation is the lack of time for workers to unionize, which could otherwise help improve their working conditions. Another reason workers find it difficult to unionize is the industry's poor practice of atomization, in contrast with workers in the manufacturing sector, who are paid to work side by side in a designated area (e.g. a factory) where exploitation is more visible.

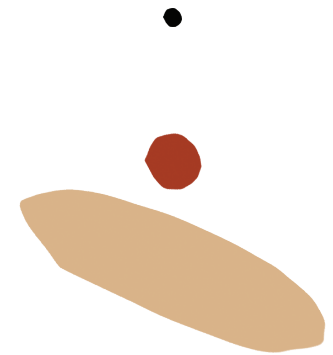
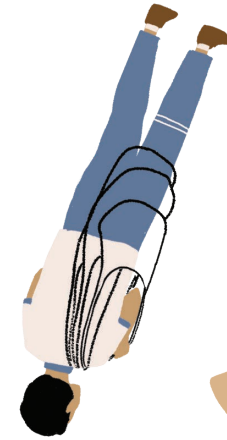
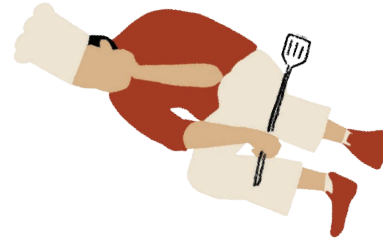
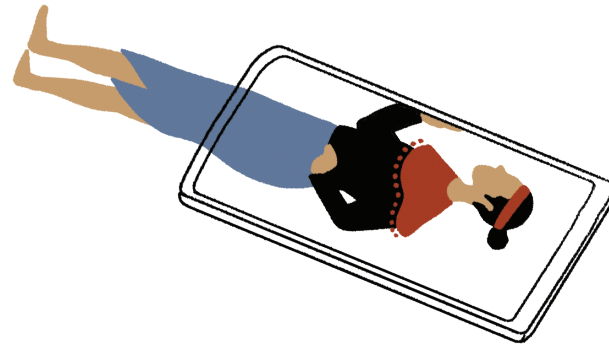
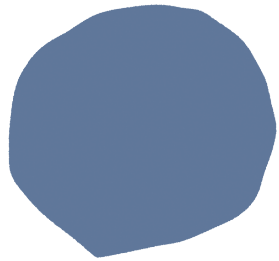
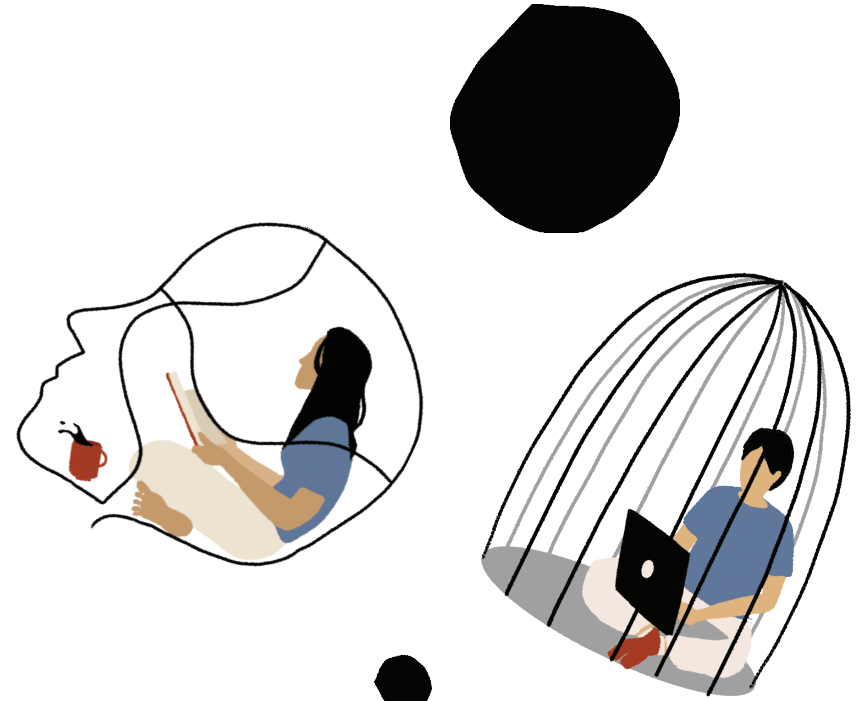
Despite this, how do they survive? Workers navigate their precarious situations in a number of ways, including by

relying on family support. Family capital significantly influences their career choice in these uncertain industries. Fifty percent of the informants come from relatively well-off families who could provide them with access to capital in various forms, including housing, so that workers do not have to pay rent or take a loan. In other words, their family is their social safety net. This false sense of security has made them unaware of, or even concede to, being deprived of their rights. Another factor is the absence of family dependents. Only 25% of the informants reported having dependents.

This begs the question: where is the state? The state actually contributes to the normalization of this outrageous situation. We often hear campaigns that millennials despise rigid, bureaucratic jobs, that they prefer flexibility so that they can work on a laptop out of coffee shops wearing casual clothes. Our findings suggest that this image of the so-called "cool" workers conceals the bleak reality of precarization. The state's attempts to promote the creative industries through various programs are heavily aimed at fostering the entrepreneurial spirit, ignoring the fact that it is workers—not entrepreneurs—that make up the majority of the workforce in these industries.

The state tends to be absent when it comes to protecting workers in the creative industries. The informants felt that existing regulations have not been able to protect them, yet they also considered that the Job Creation Law, which was promoted as the end-all be-all solution to previous labor regulations, failed to give them this protection. In the end, systemic problems experienced by workers are dismissed and reduced into individual struggles, consistent with neoliberalism—an ideology that prioritizes entrepreneurial freedom and individual-based solutions to systemic problems in society.

This is where the union plays an important role in championing the interests of creative industry workers, and advocating for the state's fulfilment of their rights. This research found that while some workers have acknowledged the importance of unionizing, others do not share this sentiment. This is due to the fact that labor issues are excluded from Indonesia's education curriculum, on top of other inhibiting factors in the form of atomization, erratic working hours, to name a few. Therefore, unions must adapt their models to accommodate workers in the creative industries, taking into account the workers' needs and limitations.



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